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# *What They Said In 1937*

*The Yearbook of Oral Opinion*

*Compiled and arranged by*

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*and*

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## Preface

**T**HIS classified annual review of oral opinion is, to the editors' knowledge, a pioneer in its field. It materializes an idea evolved from a realization that a considerable volume of speeches, interviews, and committee hearings make a transitory appearance in the pages of the press, and then are heard of no more. Many of these items embody stimulating and important ideas which do not merit the oblivion of the newspaper files. Furthermore, many alert readers, who want to keep informed, have insufficient time to be in daily touch with what the leaders are saying. To them a quotational resume should prove helpful.

These are the circumstances under which this yearbook is designed to be of service. It includes the highlights of interesting opinions from the lips of prominent people on many aspects of contemporary civilization. It resurrects from the newspaper morgue those quintessential elements of the year's oral expressions which are deemed worthy of preservation in book form. The short excerpts will encourage fugitive reading. The topical classification, the speakers' index, the place and date information, will render the book useful for reference work.

Attention is invited to certain details of editorial treatment:

1. For publication in early January, printing requirements necessitate setting a deadline of November 15th for the



incorporation of material. Hence this first issue covers a period from January 1 to November 15, 1937. Subsequent issues in this annual series will run from November 16th of one year to November 15th of the following year.

2. The topics are arranged alphabetically except for the last section entitled "Miscellany." Under each topic the speakers' names are in alphabetical order. Where there are two or more excerpts from one speaker under a particular subject, such excerpts appear chronologically.

3. Extracts from formal speeches and statements before committees carry references to the place and date of utterance. In connection with interviews and radio speeches, the place reference is omitted as being immaterial. Where the actual date of an interview could not be ascertained, the date of its publication is stated.

4. There has been no conscious editorial bias in the selection of the quotations. General interest and significance have been the exclusive criteria for inclusion, without regard to the political, economic, racial, religious, class, or other partisan views of the compilers.

For the benefit of succeeding volumes, any suggestions or criticisms in connection with this initial yearbook will be heartily welcomed.

A. F. P.  
M. L.

*What They Said*  
*In 1937*



# Art

## ***Campbell, Gerald***

The surrealists take a piece of chewing gum, stick it on the left chest of a flat-footed platypus and interpret it as St. Paul's Cathedral surmounted by the left tooth of a Wisconsin garbage man's unborn child.

*Toronto, Canada, January 24.*

## ***Gibson, Charles Dana***

I believe great painters are comparatively simple men who find their joy in paint and canvas. I do not think they are interested in mental processes. They love light and color, form and composition, and they derive the greatest enjoyment in the world from playing with these things. They do not think either of critics or public but are happy when they can satisfy themselves. The sad thing is that this does not often happen.

*Interview, published September 12.*

## ***Gillis, James M.***

If we (the United States) are not the center from which great art emanates, we are the clearing house for great art and the center to which all genius comes.

*New York, May 11.*

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### ***Hitler, Adolf***

Works of art that cannot be understood but need a swollen set of instructions to prove their right to exist and find their way to neurotics who are receptive for such stupid or insolent nonsense, will no longer find the road whereby they can reach the German nation open. Let no one have illusions. National Socialism has set out to purge the German Reich and our people of all those influences threatening its existence and character.

*Munich, July 18.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

I think that a work of art should be beautiful, should inspire instead of distress, and please instead of annoy.

*New York, June 9.*

### ***Phelps, William Lyon***

There is truth in the arts and music as well as beauty, and you can derive much comfort from appreciation of that truth. But the higher you go in the arts you need never lose a love of simplicity and simple sentiment.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., June 10.*

### ***Saint-Gaudens, Homer***

Certainly there are no geniuses or masters in Europe. I am convinced, though, that there is a constantly growing premium on ideas in painting, on ingenuity of thought and arrangement of subject, and on higher intelligence expressed in point of view. I wish I could pin a like amount of praise on craftsmanship, but I cannot.

*Interview, June 18.*

**Warshawsky, Abel G.**

(Futurists and surrealists) can't paint, and they use these forms to cover up inefficiency. The public took it up because the public is ever looking for something new. It is like eating raw meat and I believe the public has acute indigestion on this raw diet. If I am correct, the trend will be back to pure illustration.

*Interview, July 31.*



## **Birth Control**

### ***Barnes, E. W.***

Prudent parents will not and should not bring children into the world if they are to be ill-fed and ill-housed.

*Oxford, England, March 7.*

### ***Cox, Ignatius***

Those who advocate contraception with honeyed and humanitarian phraseology have a philosophy which, in its cynical disregard of the dignity of human life, is equivalent to the philosophy which accounts for the massacres of history. The attempt to liquidate the Christian as opposed to the pagan ideal of life has penetrated to all parts of the world. Here in America there will be a show-down fight in the near future on the same issue. The Catholic Church . . . calls on all believers in God and in the fundamentals of a rational, moral order to aid her in this fight against the enemies of human life and its essential dignity.

*Interview, June 9.*

### ***Fishbein, Morris***

What the American Medical Association has decided is to consider the medical aspects of contraception. That would encourage the teaching of facts relating



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to fertility as well as sterility. It has been my experience that there are just as many persons who want children and are unable to have them, as there are persons who want to avoid having them.

*Interview, July 13.*

### **Goldstein, Sidney E.**

It is now the duty of the government—city, state, and federal—to establish standards in the material of contraception as it does in the matter of foods and drugs; and it is certainly the duty of the government to protect men and women against the distribution of material that is not only a deception but a danger to the people.

*New York, January 15.*

### **Holden, Frederick C.**

The teaching of safe medical methods of birth control to women in need of this information is the most effective measure in preventing abortion deaths. Birth control education is a health service. It should not be left to the laity or to unscrupulous commercial organizations. A birth control clinic should be part of every obstetric service, and patients should be given proper contraceptive instruction as part of their post-natal care. This question has been too long beclouded by ignorance and superstition.

*Atlantic City, April 29.*

### **Hurst, Fannie**

The mere fact that we are in the midst of this struggle for birth control, instead of having it 100 years behind us, proves that the dark ages have not altogether been erased from our minds, and that we are still carrying a hangover of ignorance, superstition and fear.

*New York, January 15.*

## BIRTH CONTROL

### ***Sanger, Margaret***

The greatest obstacle to prevent needless sacrifice of women's lives, the suffering, the mental agony, the damaged bodies, were the Federal laws which had been placed on the statute books and tied up the whole subject of birth control with that of obscenity. It has taken nearly twenty-five years to clear away these barbed wire entanglements.

*New York, January 15.*

Statistics and our social workers testify that the parents who have few children are those most responsible toward their children. It is the large family groups that evade family responsibility and have to plead with agencies and government to keep them going.

*Interview, March 27.*



# **Business and Finance**

## ***Aldrich, Winthrop W.***

We need a spiritual regeneration, yes, in business as well as in other things. It is essential that we achieve a degree of national unity by developing a concrete philosophy for our young men. Those who understand the spiritual background of our country and understand what our forefathers were trying to do, are likely to be selected for important positions and become successful.

*Hamilton, N. Y., June 14.*

The greatest evils in our stock exchange speculation have always come, not from informed traders, but from the participation on a wide scale of an uninformed public, caught in the psychological contagion of a bullish boom, buying recklessly without information—merely because the market had gone up the day before.

*Rochester, N. Y., October 14.*

## ***Ball, Raymond N.***

We, as bankers, cannot treat lightly the fact that our banking system has failed in every major economic crisis since the panic of 1837. If the solutions to many basic financial problems have not been found before another major depression, we may see our chartered unit bank-

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ing system entirely eliminated and, in response to the demands of the general public, government ownership and operation substituted in its place.

*New York, January 25.*

### ***Barton, Bruce***

We must bring a rapprochement between government and business. We cannot do that by standing on the edges and criticising. We can do it only by moving into government, giving of ourselves, and not merely of our money; accepting the fact that government will continue to be very much in business, and trying as far as is in our power to contribute to politics something of the energy, efficiency and economy which are the secret of business success.

*New York, October 21.*

### ***Berle, Adolf A., Jr.***

If a country must exchange with other countries to live, and if business is interested in peace, then business must arrange to effect the exchange. Otherwise it must recognize that it cannot meet its function in a modern world, and must abandon the field to the Communists and the Fascists, who are now asserting that private business has become merely predatory and that the State must take over all functions.

*Charlottesville, Va., July 9.*

### ***Borah, William E.***

If you have an economic system which gathers in the dimes and quarters and the half-dollars from the common people of the United States through artificial prices and puts them into the coffers of a few great corporations, thereby destroying the purchasing power

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of the great masses of the people, you cannot maintain a healthy economic or financial condition in this country. I am one of those who take the position that until you destroy—not control or regulate, but until you destroy—the monopolistic control of the economic affairs of the United States, you are not going to have order and law and lawful action upon the part of those who have to deal with it.

*Washington, D. C., March 19.*

### **Byrd, Harry F.**

In addition to being unscientific, our tax system is hypocritical, undemocratic, and un-American. This may be due, in part to general indifference and unwillingness to face facts and to a strange preference for emotional methods of taxation. The result, however, is that we have a tax system which puts impossible burdens on struggling new businesses and new developments and on the man who has his way to make in the world, thus threatening the chief mainsprings of individual and corporate activity which, over our history, have accounted so largely for the growth of the country and the great improvement in the general standard of living.

*New York, November 10.*

### **Chamberlain, Neville**

Broadly speaking, I'd say the proper function of government in relation to industry is to create conditions for trade and commerce to be most successfully carried on, only exercising so much control as may be necessary in the public interest.

*Manchester, England, October 14.*

### **Douglas, William O.**

Today we have a practical usurpation of the rights of

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the great body of investors which can only be described as financial royalism . . . Ways and means must be found to make management responsive to the desires and the demands of the real owners of the business. To allow management at any time to place itself above or to pay no heed to the interests of labor, investors, or consumers, is to invite disaster. Remote control by an inside few of these fundamental economic and human matters is fatal. There can be in our form of corporate and industrial organization no royalism which can long dictate and control these basic matters.

*New York, March 25.*

A dynamic administration (of the Securities Act) is necessary because of the kaleidoscopic nature of the various phenomena of the capital markets and of the inventive genius of finance and its lawyers.

*Washington, D. C., April 17.*

### ***Eastman, Joseph B.***

The trouble with competition is that it can progress from the stage of stimulating rivalry to cut-throat warfare, and when there is warfare some one is going to be hurt, and it may be a lot of innocent bystanders.

*Boston, January 21.*

### ***Farley, James A.***

When the history of this present era is recorded it is more than likely that the public works program will be looked upon as the greatest single factor in bringing us out of the economic chaos which threatened this country when our great President took office on that bleak fourth day of March, 1933.

*Easton, Pa., April 20.*

## BUSINESS AND FINANCE

### **Filene, Edward A.**

Those who made money in the last generation might drink champagne when children all over America were crying for milk which they couldn't get. That game is about over now . . . I hail the arrival of a day when power has passed into the hands of the people and we businessmen must obey.

*Radio address, May 14.*

### **Ford, Henry**

I have been convinced for years that two schools of business confront each other in this country; one of which exists to collect all the traffic will bear and whose only measure of success is dividends. The other school of business gets its chief satisfaction from the experience of actually using basic principles to produce a system of activity that serves equally every interest involved in it. There is no pleasure in business otherwise.

*Interview, published October 17.*

### **Frank, Glenn**

The blunt, ungloved, brutal truth is that, except as a justified means of meeting an emergency, there is neither rhyme nor reason in the fantastic notion that we can bring the abundant life to the American millions by putting our productive genius in chains, by producing less and charging more.

*Albany, November 11.*

### **Gay, Charles R.**

If there is anything that we of the Stock Exchange do not want, it is another great boom. As an aftermath of a boom come unsettlement, discouragement, readjustment, and loss all along the line—lost years as well as lost money.

*Miami Beach, February 9.*



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### ***Grace, Eugene G.***

Many overlook the fact that, under normal conditions, low taxes are just as necessary for sustained buying power as are lower prices or increased wages. Industry cannot be expected to practice all the economy. Let's give the consuming public a few billions by reducing taxes, and see what that will do to enhance buying power.

*New York, May 27.*

### ***Hopkins, Harry L.***

I've been overwhelmingly convinced by my four years in Washington of something I always did believe: that this country just can't run if too much of its income is drained off by Wall Street speculators, money changers, and monopolists.

*Wahpeton, N. D., September 12.*

### ***Jones, Jesse H.***

The country needs a lot of things, things that will give people work, but it needs nothing as badly as it needs confidence. We are not going haywire.

*New York, October 8.*

Although it appears that we have more railroad mileage than we can support, the fact that we are living in a streamlined age, with new forms of competitive transportation, does not mean that we can do without railroad transportation.

*Chicago, November 1.*

### ***Kennedy, Joseph P.***

No one who knows what has been happening in the world since 1914 has any doubt that the American

## BUSINESS AND FINANCE

people need an adequate merchant marine. Nor is there any doubt that, one way or another, the American people are going to have it. Our experience in the World War settled that. America then learned to its sorrow that it could not rely upon foreign ships to carry American commerce. And, despite the disappointments of enormous expenditure and indifferent results, a resolve then formed is still strong and uncompromising—to have American ships available for American commerce.

*New York, May 22.*

### **Knudsen, William S.**

We find that a big corporation gets blamed for being big. But it is only big because it gives service. If it doesn't give service, it grows small faster than it grows big.

*Interview, January 13.*

### **Lehman, Herbert H.**

Not one man in a thousand knows anything about a governmental budget. They see nothing but millions of dollars mentioned in the headlines.

*Williamstown, Mass., February 22.*

### **Miller, John E.**

The future of America is bound up in the welfare of the small man in business, on the farm, and in industry. Against the threat of all the alien "isms" that so beset the world, only the small independent business man, the farmer, and the laborer, stand as a defense and a bulwark to preserve the American system and tradition. Concentration of ownership of industry in a few hands may presently increase efficiency, but this

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concentration will lead to lower wages, longer working hours, serious and disturbing labor strife, and the decay and death of democracy.

*Hot Springs, Va., October 30.*

### **Morgan, J. P.**

Congress should know how to levy taxes, and if it doesn't know how to collect them, then a man is a fool to pay the taxes. If stupid mistakes are made, it is up to Congress to rectify them and not for us taxpayers to do so.

*Interview, June 7.*

### **Morgenthau, Henry, Jr.**

The basic need today is to foster the full application of the driving force of private capital. We want to see capital go into the productive channels of private industry. We want to see private business expand. We believe that much of the remaining unemployment will disappear as private capital funds are increasingly employed in productive enterprises. We believe that one of the most important ways of achieving these ends at this time is to continue progress toward a balance of the Federal budget.

*New York, November 10.*

### **Namm, Benjamin H.**

Resale price-maintenance is neither impartial nor just. It will not free business but it will shackle the retailer and make of him a "glorified slot machine" for the manufacturer to exploit at will. It may "cure" predatory price-cutting but the "cure," I fear, will be far worse than the disease.

*Washington, D. C., January 29.*

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### ***Perkins, Frances***

Seasonal unemployment in this country is unnecessarily high . . . Seasonal changes have shown themselves susceptible to great modification when attacked soundly and sincerely. Industries marketing perishable products, or those having marked style changes, cannot produce as far ahead of the market as can those producing goods which can be easily stored. But even with perishability of material and style changes, careful planning can develop a plan of production and shipment which will keep capital investment, labor and machines efficiently employed through the year.

*Rochester, N. Y., November 11.*

### ***Richberg, Donald R.***

We do not wish to escape from the frying pan of private regimentation by huge business organizations into the fire of a political regimentation by a huge government bureaucracy. We can only maintain a political democracy by insuring the preservation of an economic democracy. We can only avoid socialistic control not by private, secret agreements but by open cooperation in conformity with safeguards of the public interest and definite standards of fair competition enforced by government.

*Dayton, Ohio, January 9.*

I am convinced that, unless we can get more business intelligence into political policies and more political intelligence into business policies, we are on the way to a struggle for power that will cost the American people more than any war or depression in our history.

*Atlantic City, September 15.*

### ***Robinson, Joseph T.***

The average mind revolts at the thought that a few

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individuals may so combine their resources and their efforts as to fix prices at will on those things which are essential to comfort and happiness.

*Chicago, January 24.*

### **Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

Overproduction, underproduction, and speculation, are the three evil sisters who distill the troubles of unsound inflation and disastrous deflation.

*Washington, D. C., January 6.*

The dangers to the country growing out of monopoly and out of unfair methods of competition still exist and still call for action. They make the work of the Federal Trade Commission of vital importance in our economic life. We must not be lulled by any sense of false security. Eternal vigilance is the price of opportunity for honest business. It is the price we must pay if business is to be allowed to remain honest and to carry on under fair competitive conditions, protected from the sharp or shady practices of the unscrupulous.

*Washington, D. C., July 12.*

Most business men, big and little, know that their government neither wants to put them out of business nor to prevent them from earning a decent profit. In spite of the alarms of a few who seek to regain control over American life, most business men, big and little, know that their government is trying to make property more secure than ever before by giving every family a real chance to have a property stake in the nation.

*Radio address, October 12.*

The Federal Reserve System as it exists today is better adapted than ever before to play its part in common

## BUSINESS AND FINANCE

with the other instrumentalities of government in the attainment of that increasing well being for all of our people which is the fundamental objective of all government.

*Washington, D. C., October 20.*

### **Sayre, Francis B.**

I am not a believer in absolute free trade and neither is the Roosevelt Administration, but we are against high trade barriers. High protective tariffs work toward economic isolation, increase the cost of goods to domestic consumers and decrease their standard of living.

*Washington, D. C., January 23.*

### **Vandenberg, Arthur H.**

If legitimate American business does not have a fair chance to profitably survive, none of us has a chance to survive.

*Grand Rapids, Mich., October 28.*

### **Wagner, Robert F.**

All are agreed that the greatest single impetus to trade would be the restoration of construction through a large home building program. Bankers and social workers, business men and labor leaders, economists and public administrators, are united in this objective to a degree which suggests universal harmony.

*New York, November 12.*

In order to assist business there may be need to modify some of the regulatory legislation in the light of its practical application. Particularly it is my opinion that it is desirable to reform the capital gains tax and the undistributed profits tax to remove inequitable restrictions and to stimulate the investment of capital.

*Radio address, November 14.*

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### **Wallace, Henry A.**

The only really sound and lasting way that this government can aid in rebuilding foreign purchasing power is to permit larger imports of selected products into this country. But this alone would not suffice, unless foreign countries could be induced to lower their barriers to our exports.

*Washington, D. C., February 11.*

Investors do not follow their money through to see how it is put to work. Finance capitalism, therefore, becomes so impersonal that many abuses grow up.

*New York, April 18.*

### **Young, Owen D.**

I am sure that most people believe today that the preceding generation did a bad job economically. I do not share that view. If, as is estimated by the National Bureau of Economic Research, our national income was increased from \$27,600,000,000 in 1909 to \$86,000,000,000 in 1929, more than three times, if at the end of that time we had succeeded in distributing approximately five-sixths of that income to employees and independent operators like farmers and small business men, we ought not to be too severely critical of the economic management of the preceding generation.

*Lafayette, Ind., June 28.*

# The Constitution

## **Bailey, Josiah W.**

The Constitution is no device to block the people's progress. It is the device of the people to preserve themselves, their states, their local self government, their inalienable rights, their homes and the future of their children.

*Radio address, February 13.*

## **Borah, William E.**

Until the people speak, until the people make known their desire, the Constitution is sacredly binding upon the people, upon officials, upon the Congress, the Executive and the courts.

*Washington, D. C., September 16.*

## **Bulkley, Robert J.**

A constitution is not an idol to be worshipped; it is an instrument of government to be worked.

*Radio address, February 26.*

## **Burke, Edward S.**

The only way by which our Constitution can be weakened or destroyed, the only threat to our guaranteed



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liberties is that Americans may lose their capacity for self-government. The passionate desire for individual freedom which fired the souls of our fathers, and made them willing to endure all manner of hardships, may be weakened so that we become unwilling to pay the price.

*Rushmore, S. D., September 17.*

### **Clark, Bennett Champ**

The Constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and in peace, and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that any of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such a doctrine leads directly to anarchy or despotism, but the theory on which it is based is false, for the government within the Constitution has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence.

*New York, September 17.*

### **Coughlin, Charles E.**

I fear greatly that this Constitution of which we speak and on which we have come to rely so much, has the possibility facing it, this month or next month, of being relegated to museums, incarcerated in libraries, and regarded by our children as having passed out of existence.

*Radio address, March 7.*

### **Cummings, Homer S.**

The Constitution is not a legal code. The Constitution is not a dam erected to check the flow of life of our

## THE CONSTITUTION

people. It is a channel through which that life flows directing, guiding, facilitating it, but at no point endeavoring to stop it. That the freedom of our people to direct their own destiny has been hampered, especially of late, by judicial action, is scarcely open to debate. These limitations upon Congressional power have brought into challenge a wide range of projects and measures overwhelmingly approved by our people.

*Radio address, February 14.*

There are those who apparently regard the Constitution as embalming forever the explicit and final word of wisdom, and who feel a distaste for any critical debate as to its merits or its possible defects. Intelligent temperate debate is the essence of free government, and it would be unfortunate indeed if the Constitution ever came to be regarded as so sacred that it could not be discussed.

*Washington, D. C., October 11.*

### **Hoffman, Harold G.**

The benefits of our system are so accustomed that they pass without notice. We listen to those who would tinker with our foundations while we stand securely in life only because of that foundation. The critics of the Constitution can air their views only because the Constitution gives them freedom of speech to say what they choose.

*Trenton, N. J., November 11.*

### **Johnson, Hugh S.**

There is only one purpose in any constitution, and that is to prescribe the conditions under which people are willing to be ruled at all; to protect minorities against majority action in excess of such limits as have been

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agreed upon to bind that action. It is the only rule under which people of differing opinions may live together in peace.

*Chicago, September 16.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

Economic issues cannot be settled with the policeman's nightstick. Any philosophy of government under our Constitution can be decided only through the mediums and channels provided in the Constitution, and cannot be suppressed by the use of force. The force of the State cannot be improperly used to suppress freedom of speech.

*New York, June 3.*

### ***Lamas, Carlos S.***

It is not true that our constitutions must be changed to adapt them to uncertain idealisms. We must lift our realities to the level of our constitutions. To obtain their perfect functioning it is merely necessary that we fill in the voids they contain by introducing into them culture, education, progress and, above all, esteem and respect.

*Buenos Aires, July 4.*

### ***Landon, Alf M.***

I do not believe in the Constitution because I think it is sacred. I reverence it because it is so intensely practical, because it works when you give it a chance to work. The real reason why progress has lagged in America during the last four and one-half years is the failure of the President of the United States to follow our constitutional method of government, and his failure as an administrator.

*Radio address, October 19.*

## THE CONSTITUTION

### **Robinson, Joseph T.**

I repudiate the implication which has been injected into this debate that the Constitution renders the national government powerless to relieve distress and suffering of the people who constitute its citizenship.

*Washington, D. C., January 27.*

### **Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

The Constitution of the United States was a layman's document, not a lawyer's contract. That cannot be stressed too often. Madison, most responsible for it, was not a lawyer, nor was Washington, or Franklin, whose sense of the give-and-take of life had kept the convention together. This great layman's document was a charter of general principles—completely different from the "whereases" and the "parties of the first part" and the fine print which lawyers put into leases and insurance policies and installment agreements.

*Radio address, September 17.*

### **Smith, Alfred E.**

I regard the Constitution as our civil Bible and I don't think you can compromise with it.

*New York, March 18.*

### **Smith, Young B.**

I agree with the President that in interpreting the Constitution the majority of the Supreme Court have, in recent years, read into the Constitution limitations upon the powers of the government not required by its language. This can and should be corrected. But with the same frankness I must say that in interpreting the general welfare clause the President has likewise read

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into the Constitution powers conferred upon the Congress which the language of the Constitution does not justify.

*Washington, D. C., March 25.*

# Crime

## ***Dewey, Thomas E.***

In law enforcement, we are still thinking in primitive terms of apprehending the footpad and the ruffian. . . . You may definitely assume that crime is incorporated. I believe that the struggle between organized society and organized crime is slowly reaching a crisis.

*New York, May 15.*

Our major problem is to arouse the public to support efforts to prosecute organized crime, and nothing will give me such pleasure as to have women on the jury who will see the frightful toll and depredation of organized crime as presented in the courtroom.

*New York, September 15.*

What we need is a general understanding that the arrest of the little fellow is only the beginning, not the end. Protection of the people from crime is not a mechanical matter. The arrest and conviction of a minor criminal helps no more to win the fight on organized crime than a bullet shot up in the air will affect the result of a war.

*Radio address, September 25.*

## ***Hatfield, Malcolm K.***

It's just horse sense to know that if parents are dis-

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honest and untruthful, even in small things, (their) children will lie and steal.

*Interview, published September 12.*

### **Hoover, Herbert**

Let no one tell you that crime is decreasing in the United States. Nor is that due to lack of vigilance on the part of public authorities. I recollect that during my administration we doubled the population of Federal jails. Crime increases despite all this repression. And with all the wave of beneficent prison reforms of the past ten years, and all the expensive attempt to make good men out of criminals, we have not decreased crime. The way to stop crime is to stop the manufacture of criminals.

*New York, May 13.*

### **Hoover, J. Edgar**

Parole today is becoming one of the major menaces of our country. Through its misapplication convicts are being freed with little or no supervision, and often with no sound reason for release. In my opinion, there can only be one reason why thousands of criminals who have repeatedly committed crimes are set free to commit other and often more dangerous offenses against the law. This is the failure of public officials to faithfully carry out their public trust. And this dangerous condition should be exposed.

*New York, April 22.*

I hope the time will come when every educational institution will include a course in law enforcement as a part of its curriculum. There should be a knowledge on the part of every citizen of what good law enforcement consists, and to know this one should know

also of what criminality consists, of what goes to cause crime, and of what ingredients municipal corruption, which so often stultifies good law enforcement, is composed.

*Kalamazoo, Mich., June 14.*

***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

I am not trying to belittle the scientific approach (to child delinquency). It is necessary and it does a great work. But I am personally old fashioned and naturally conservative, and while I recognize the great value of the Binet test, I would rather have the Borden and Sheffield treatment first.

*New York, February 16.*

***Lehman, Herbert H.***

Under our (New York) existing law, in the event that a murder occurs during the commission of any felony, all those involved are held equally responsible and if found guilty must be sentenced to death. The jury has absolutely no discretion—the verdict must be either acquittal, or murder in the first degree. The jury is faced with the choice of condemning to death a man for whom it would like to show some clemency, or, on the other hand, of letting him go completely unpunished. I believe that the sentence for felony murder should continue to be death. However I would empower a jury to accompany any verdict of guilty with a recommendation of executive clemency, in which case the sentence shall not be death but imprisonment for life.

*Albany, January 6.*

No system of release or imprisonment will ever completely rid the world of the criminal. I do not believe that crime can be eliminated.

*New York, October 20.*



## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

### ***MacCormick, Austin H.***

A tremendous amount of good could be done in the field of crime prevention not by handing out "goody" books, but by providing interesting volumes that do not moralize, and that lead a boy or a man into avenues of vocational interest.

*New York, June 23.*

### ***Nichols, L. B.***

The combating of crime is not alone the responsibility of law enforcement officers, but that of every citizen. Law enforcement can never attain the highest degree of efficiency until it has the interest and support of every law abiding citizen.

*New York, April 22.*

### ***Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.***

I am not sure that housing is not at the beginning of a great deal of crime. It is really a problem of economics. You've got to raise the earning power of people so that children can grow up normally.

*New York, February 5.*

# Democracy

## ***Angell, James R.***

We are told that democracy is safe in this country and that freedom is thus also assured. But as long as great continental nations, with a cultural history of centuries, are ready, as they now do, to blaspheme against the whole conception of liberty on which our nation has been nurtured, neither that liberty nor the democracy in which it is enshrined can be wholly safe.

*New Haven, Conn., June 22.*

## ***Baldwin, Stanley***

We all ought to bear in mind that democracy is quite the most difficult form of government that has probably ever been devised, and I doubt whether it has ever been achieved in its fullness in any country in the world yet. Autocracy is a very easy form of government because we all have to do what we are told and that means we are saved the trouble of thinking. Under democracy every individual in some degree or another has to do his own thinking, and on whether he thinks rightly or wrongly the whole success or failure of that democracy will rest.

*London, May 5.*

## ***Bestor, Arthur E.***

The challenge to our democratic way of life is whether

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we can maintain individual freedom in a nation where governmental control is inevitable to assure a humane day, a clean environment, a living wage; whether we can have a socialized state without detailed regimentation; whether our economy of plenty instead of scarcity can eliminate poverty and assure a fairer distribution of the material blessings; whether universal education and leisure can produce a good way of life; whether we can command the services of the expert and the competent to serve the common good; whether privilege does mean "noblesse oblige"; whether we can educate ourselves and develop leadership to make the state the servant instead of the sovereign of our lives.

*Easton, Pa., June 11.*

### ***Black, Hugo L.***

I believe the character and conduct of every public servant, great and small, should be subject to the constant scrutiny of the people. This must be true if a democracy serves its purpose.

*Radio address, October 1.*

### ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

Do you realize that we have become the old world? Do you realize that while for 400 years we have been growing up under the aegis and guidance of democracy, most of the rest of the world has changed and has started on what we can only regard as a backward and reactionary path? That is why the Americas have become the old world, with a lesson to teach to a new world that does not realize how very old, how discarded by human experience, are these new ideas.

*New York, March 30.*

In a democracy there is no place for a labor party any more than for a banker party or a farmers' party or a

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school teachers' party or a party bearing the name and trying to serve the interests of any other special economic or social group. Democracy implies equality of opportunity, and democratic government can only be carried on in accordance with definite underlying principles of thought and action, and not with a view to the domination or advantage of any group or class in the population.

*Southampton, N. Y., September 5.*

The whole question before the world today is the duty of believers in true democracy to prevent people from becoming a mob and to convert a mob into people.

*New York, October 7.*

### ***Chase, Harry W.***

It is by intelligence, not by passion and prejudice and force, that we in America must strive within our democratic framework to work out this challenging problem of the relationship of the individual and the state. But if you are indifferent to it, and if educated men and women throughout the land are indifferent to it, it is the forces of unreason and passion which will prevail.

*New York, June 9.*

### ***Coffin, Henry Sloane***

The fresh study of this democracy brings home to us that it rests upon a three-fold faith—faith in the capacities of the common man, faith in truth which is assumed to make its own appeal to the mind, and faith in the universe as favorable to a society based on brotherhood. This faith came out of the religious heritage which Jews and Christians hold in common. It is a response to God's self-revelation in Israel. And

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we would add in that Figure which is at the center of Christianity.

*New York, January 17.*

### **Comstock, Louis K.**

There is no antidote for communism better than the desire for personal success in democracy.

*Radio address, February 7.*

### **Dodds, Harold W.**

Our creed has been that democracy is not only possible but desirable—the only form of government which will in the long run satisfy the self-respect of self-respecting people.

*New York, April 9.*

While, in my judgment, there is no immediate danger that Americans will adopt the crude forms of fascism and communism, there is evidence of a growing sentiment of statism, which is in a degree similar to fascism and communism in the reliance which it places upon social control through government. Our civilization is precarious but it contains one new and hopeful element, the ideal of democracy, which requires that those who have the benefit of education fuse their civilization with the mass. Democracy needs leaders, not bosses.

*Andover, Mass., June 18.*

### **Eden, Anthony**

We are told democracy is not heroic and that Europe is now entering on a heroic stage. By all means let us have heroism. But let us regard Europe as a land for heroes to live in—not merely to die in. Let us not

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confuse heroism and heroics. Let us seek that quieter heroism which is nonetheless real because it can see the qualities of heroism and self-sacrifice in people of every race and creed, and which regards cooperation with all races and creeds as essential to the general welfare of the world. Political democracy is sometimes regarded as a half-way house between dictatorships of the Right and the Left. It is no such thing. It is another street altogether. But it is ready enough to live on terms of good neighborliness with the inhabitants of all other streets.

*London, January 12.*

### **Farley, James A.**

There is an appalling responsibility in government beyond the mere levying of taxes and maintaining law and order among ourselves. And the only means I know of keeping a government on its toes so that it will exercise all its functions for the benefit of all our people, is the existence of a minority party of such strength as will provide an alternative if the party in power falls down.

*Radio address, November 8.*

### **Glass, Carter**

Any United States Senator or public officer should be thankful if he finds himself in accord with the sentiment of his people. But he never should get in accord by a sacrifice of his intellectual integrity or of his enlightened conscience, and these I always undertake to observe in deciding public questions.

*Clinton, N. Y., October 30.*

### **Hamilton, John D.**

In charting forward our (Republican) program we

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must of necessity take cognizance of the results of the last election. We may believe in certain principles, but we cannot on the other hand wipe aside the fact that nearly 28,000,000 voted the other way. Does that mean that a change is wanted in our kind of government? I think not. I think that the form of government referred to as a democracy is here to stay.

*New York, January 16.*

### **Hoover, Herbert**

(College graduates) are too prone to hold themselves aloof from the hurly burly of political conflict. They content themselves with merely voting. That is often a futile affair if the names of mediocre or incompetent candidates appear on the ballot. Mere voting is a paltry price to pay for the privilege of living under a free government. A democratic way of life is a participating way of life. Self-government exists only in name if the conduct of the parties is turned over entirely to the professional politicians.

*Syracuse, N. Y., November 12.*

### **Hughes, Charles Evans**

The cognate civic virtue that is the spirit of democracy is fairness. It is so easy to be unfair and vindictive. And the ruthlessness of intemperate minorities in trampling on individual interests will inevitably lead to the entire overthrow of democracy. There is no essential conflict between progress and liberty. We cannot hope to escape the activities of organized minorities which may triumph for a time over an unorganized or indifferent majority.

*Amherst, Mass., June 19.*

Put no confidence in mere forms or in institutional arrangements, however astutely contrived in the in-

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terest of popular liberty. All these arrangements depend upon the popular will. The security of our democratic institutions is not in existing constitutional provisions or framework of government, but in the dominant sentiment which maintains them.

*Providence, R. I., June 21.*

### **Hull, Cordell**

Human liberty is never more deeply appreciated than when it is temporarily eclipsed. Democracy, as a form of government, is never more ardently desired than after it has been brutally brushed aside by the ruthless hand of a dictator. It is my firm belief that only a free and self-governing people can possess the necessary scope and vitality of spirit, aspiration, and enterprise to reach out for a better and fuller life.

*Philadelphia, June 9.*

### **Ickes, Harold L.**

In a true democracy policies of government can be nothing else than an expression of the composite thinking of the people. Changes for the better which germinate in the minds of the more forward thinking individuals require a long time to prevail against the weight of customary majority opinion.

*Radio address, August 20.*

### **Kaempffert, Waldemar**

Democracy, a heritage of the eighteenth century, exists in a totally different world today. Can democracy be adapted to the complex social world of today? That is the crucial test the world faces.

*New York, February 6.*



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### ***Landis, James M.***

It is the essence of the survival of democratic government that it must be able to handle its problems expeditiously and definitively.

*Chicago, March 10.*

### ***Lehman, Herbert H.***

No democracy that is worthy of the name can afford, even through the will of the majority, to curtail or abridge the rights of any of its people.

*Williamstown, Mass., September 3.*

### ***Lewis, John L.***

The United States is the greatest example of a democratic state remaining within the fabric of our imperiled civilization. It is our responsibility, as its citizens, to preserve democracy within its borders. No one can tell what events the next few years may bring forth. Europe is on the brink of disaster and it must be our care that she does not drag us into the abyss after her.

*New York, March 15.*

### ***Ludwig, Emil***

There does not exist in Europe a democracy that can be compared with the United States.

*Interview, July 9.*

### ***Manning, William T.***

If free government is to be preserved in this world, America, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and France and other freedom-loving countries must stand together for those ideals and institutions of constitu-

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tional democracy under which alone liberty exists. And if democracy is to survive it must be Christianized and must be truer to its own ideals. Those who believe in liberty must show that democracy can more fully realize its ideals and that it can meet justly the great problems, social, economic, and industrial, of this present time. The democratic ideal does not mean only political democracy; it means also social and economic democracy, but let us never forget that without political democracy there is no freedom and no democracy at all.

*New York, April 25.*

### **McReynolds, James C.**

May I remind you that you have the most complicated government since the beginning of time. It is a piece of machinery so difficult to operate that, unless it can have the constant attention of upright and intelligent citizens, its continuation is not possible. To manage all its divergent interests and do it intelligently from Washington is impossible. The man who can do it has not been born.

*Washington, D. C., March 16.*

### **Murphy, Frank**

Democracy will not stand alone. It will not stand merely with the passive support of our self-content. On the contrary, it must be constantly safeguarded, carefully reinforced, and stoutly implemented against those forces which, unchecked, would in time accomplish its dissolution.

*New York, May 14.*

### **Mussolini, Benito**

Democracy is finished. Democracies today are simply the centers of infection—the tools of Bolshevism. That is one group. We are the other group. The future

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is turning away from the collective idea, from the masses that respond so indefinitely. Events prove that this is an era of strong dominating personalities. Democracy is sand driven by the wind. Our political ideal is a rock like a granite peak.

*Interview, published January 16.*

You make me impatient when you talk of democracy. You talk as if it existed or could exist in this twentieth century world of machines and mass production, as if we were still living in the nineteenth century world of individual enterprise. I tell you democracy is only a mask for capitalism, which clings desperately to the outmoded forms that allowed it free play. The era of capitalism is over. Here in Italy it is finished, it is dead. If by democracy you mean government for and in the interests of the people, then our system and ours alone is truly democratic. Bear in mind, that in the future it will be recognized that we were the first to face and adapt government to the facts of modern life.

*Interview, February 1.*

The greatest and soundest democracies which exist in the world today are Italy and Germany. Elsewhere politics is dominated by the great powers of capitalism, by secret societies and political groups which work against each other under pretext of the so-called "inalienable rights of humanity." In Germany and Italy it is absolutely impossible that politics be interfered with or influenced by private persons. No government in the whole world enjoys the confidence of their peoples as much as do the Italian and German governments.

*Berlin, September 28.*

### ***Pecora, Ferdinand***

It is the essential duty of an administration in a democ-

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racy to see that the law conforms to the community's sense of right and justice.

*Camp Tamiment, Pa., June 27.*

### ***Pershing, John J.***

The three great democracies of France, Great Britain, and the United States, will not only endure, but it will be the way for all mankind marching forward to progress in peace and righteousness.

*Versailles, France, October 6.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

The deeper purpose of democratic government is to assist as many of its citizens as possible—especially those who need it most—to improve their conditions of life, to retain all personal liberty which does not adversely affect their neighbors, and to pursue the happiness which comes with security and an opportunity for recreation and culture.

*Washington, D. C., January 6.*

Nearly all of us recognize that as intricacies of human relationships increase, so power to govern them also must increase—power to stop evil, power to do good. The essential democracy of our nation and the safety of our people depend not upon the absence of power, but upon lodging it with those whom the people can change or continue at stated intervals through an honest and free system of elections.

*Washington, D. C., January 20.*

Democracy in many lands has failed, for the time being, to meet human needs. People have become so fed up with futile debate and party bickerings over methods, that they have been willing to surrender democratic

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processes and principles in order to get things done. They have forgotten the lessons of history, that the ultimate failures of dictatorships cost humanity far more than any temporary failures of democracy. In the United States, democracy has not yet failed and does not need to fail. And we propose not to let it fail.

*Radio address, March 4.*

Macaulay condemned the American scheme of government based on popular majority. In this country eighty years later, his successors do not yet dare openly to condemn the American form of government by popular majority, for they profess adherence to the form while, at the same time, their every act shows their opposition to the very fundamentals of democracy. They love to intone praise of liberty, to mouth phrases about the sanctity of our Constitution, but in their hearts they distrust majority rule because an enlightened majority will not tolerate the abuses which a privileged minority would seek to foist upon the people as a whole. I seek no change in the form of American government. Majority rule must be preserved as the safeguard of both liberty and civilization.

*Roanoke Island, N. C., August 18.*

Democratic government can never be considered an intruder into the affairs of a democratic nation.

*Radio address, October 12.*

### ***Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.***

I believe that democracy is based on the ability to make democracy serve the good of the majority of the people. If it can't do that, then it should not live.

*Jersey City, N. J., June 16.*

## ***Smith, Alfred E.***

We are living today in a world that is upset. Democracies are crumbling before our eyes. Popular rule, popular government has given way to dictatorship and the tyranny of a minority as completely as they ever did in the history of the world. And therefore this is the time for every citizen to pay attention to the details of political organization.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., September 13.*

## ***Trojanovsky, Alexander A.***

In my opinion, at the present time the most acute and the most important problem in the world is not a struggle between capitalism and socialism, but the struggle between fascism and democracy. History has set up this problem, and it is more powerful, more vital, than any program presented by any human agency or than any political party.

*New York, January 28.*

## ***Wagner, Robert F.***

A democracy must at least make sure that the economically weak and underprivileged are not left helpless and neglected. If that neglect persists, the weak will combine in their resentment to overthrow the system of law and order which also protects the strong.

*New York, October 5.*

## ***Wells, H. G.***

Suppose the President died tomorrow, what have you ready? The thing that held the Roman Empire together, the thing that is holding England, is the existence of civil service. Even if somebody did put some dynamite under 10 Downing Street, and even if we

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do change a King en passant, these things do not change England very much, but comparable happenings might have a great effect on America. Organized knowledge and civil service are your (American) needs. Democracy has to succeed or humanity has to fail, yet I am not at all sure of democracy's surviving.

*Interview, October 27.*

### ***Wheeler, Burton K.***

I firmly believe that we must have reforms from time to time, but that they should come within the framework we already have set up, until the people themselves determine to change that framework. Congress hasn't any right to change it. The President hasn't any right to change it. Only the people have that right. They can destroy the Government if they want to, regardless of the wisdom of such a course. But the people alone have the right, not the President or Congress.

*Interview, published August 8.*

# Dictatorship

## ***Angell, James R.***

I believe it is humanly certain that any government given complete authority over the economic interests of the nation, political conditions being what they are, will presently take over education, and then all the other cultural and spiritual interests, and finally impinge on religion itself.

*New Haven, Conn., June 20.*

Tyranny is not less tyranny when exercised by a dictator, or an irresponsible government bureau, or a less responsible labor boss, than when imposed by an economic royalist, and it behooves us all to make sure that the essence of liberty and not its mere name is protected and preserved, and especially to see to it that in the effort to alleviate recognized oppression, there be not substituted new forms of oppression equally unjust, and ultimately no less disastrous.

*New Haven, Conn., June 22.*

## ***Baker, Newton D.***

The longevity of a dictator depends on his capacity continually to surprise his people. I do not see how a dictator can ever take a backward step.

*Cleveland, April 17.*



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### ***Baldwin, Stanley***

I don't think there is any single thing more important for our people, for those who frame public opinion and for those who lead public opinion, than to keep our people immune from the virus of either communism or fascism.

*London, April 10.*

### ***Beard, Charles A.***

Neither Hitler nor Mussolini nor Stalin is immortal. No government is fireproof against change. If confirmation be sought, look at the wrecks of states, empires, kingdoms, principalities, dictatorships, scattered along the path of more than seventy countries. Those that do not bend, adjust, or adapt, surely perish. Even despotisms are tempered by assassination.

*Washington, D. C., March 8.*

### ***Borah, William E.***

I have no choice between communism and fascism. The latter is supposed to be more respectable than the former and finds a more ready entree into respectable society. But they are both enemies of every vital liberty and every right and privilege of the average man or woman. Both reduce the average citizen to a state of political and economic serfdom. Both succeed in breeding and fostering discontent in all the different nations in the world. Both have their active propagandists in our own country.

*Washington, D. C., May 6.*

With dictatorship war is always an immediate possibility. Dictators look upon people as so much fuel to feed the war furnace.

*Interview, May 30.*

## Dictatorship

### ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

What is the source of strength of modern despotism? In its two forms it comes from two motives, two ends to be accomplished. The one, communism of Russia, asks for economic equality. The other, Nazi socialism and the fascism of Italy, asks for national efficiency and national isolation. Both have this in common—they lead straight to the suicide of civilization. The liberal must try to get the exponent of communism, naziism, and fascism to see the weaknesses of his doctrines and where lies the strength of constitutional democracy. But, in order that the liberal may have his hands strengthened in carrying on the argument, he must first be able to show that under his form of government there is fair treatment of all, equal opportunity to all and reward for him who has ability for achievement and public service.

*New York, January 27.*

It is customary for many citizens of the democratic countries to look upon the people and the government of Russia as their chief enemy. They are wrong. There are other forms of despotism that are even more menacing than communism. The chief enemy of the democratic institutions which these peoples have built through the centuries and upon which their prosperity rests, are the three military dictatorships of Japan, of Germany, and of Italy.

*New York, September 22.*

### ***Copeland, Royal S.***

A man may have no intention of committing burglary, but if he is found with burglar's tools he cannot complain if he himself is brought under suspicion. The President does not help allay the suspicion of dictator-

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ship when he refers to a "three horse team" which he would make pull together, giving us to understand that he would crack the whip over all three branches of government.

*Hanover, N. H., April 16.*

### **Day, Edmund Ezra**

When men in power conclude that ideas should come from authority and not from thought, men of reason must battle.

*Ithaca, N. Y., October 8.*

### **Dodds, Harold W.**

One strong appeal of the authoritarian state is its plausible promise of security without personal responsibility. Individuals, it is argued, make many errors in business and social judgments because they are unable to comprehend and control the variables, the deuces wild, in a dynamic world. "But," says the totalitarian state, "where you as individuals have failed, I can predict wisely; I am the all-inclusive spiritual personality endowed with the mysterious gift of omniscience. You have only to trust me." To the objective observer the hope for security which this promise holds out is without substance and void.

*Princeton, N. J., June 20.*

### **Dykstra, Clarence A.**

The machine and mass production have changed our economic organization almost beyond recognition, but we have developed no rational basis for this new organizing of our lives. Unable to function in the normal and usual way, our Western peoples have thrown overboard their 19th century habits of mind

## DICTIONARY

and their democratic societies, and taken the plunge with a dictator of one kind or another. Unable to choose for itself, too weary to work out orderly social processes which continue to guarantee life as individuals, many a society has resolved the problem by forfeiting its freedom. This is a confession of defeat in the face of the immediate results of modern industrialism. It is a return to childhood and primitive instincts; it is turning back the clock.

*Interview, published April 25.*

### ***Flexer, Abraham***

The real enemy of the human race is not the fearless and irresponsible thinker, be he right or wrong. The real enemy is the man who tries to mold the human spirit so that it will not dare to spread its wings as its wings were once spread in Italy, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States.

*Bryn Mawr, Pa., June 2.*

### ***Frank, Glenn***

An all powerful President, a rubber stamp Congress, and a Supreme Court controlled from the White House is another form of government, and all the elaborate facade of democracy that political rhetoric keeps standing before it cannot long hide this fact.

*Chicago, March 11.*

The centralization of power has always ended in tyranny. Even when effected with democratic consent and designed to serve emergency ends only, centralized power has always moved relentlessly in the direction of self-perpetuation.

*Boston, October 12.*

### ***Johnson, Hugh S.***

When we reach the day when opinion is controlled

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either for politics or money, we will be on our way to join Joe Stalin, Handsome Adolf, and Maestro Mussolini. With those boys you take what is dished out to you. You not only like it if it kills you—but you also cheer for it, or else. That is the end of free speech, which is the end of everything properly called American.

*Radio address, September 27.*

### ***Lippmann, Walter***

Men can live with dignity and security only under a constitutional government. Personal government, however benevolent in intention, is in the end always arbitrary, capricious, corrupt, and impermanent.

*Baltimore, April 21.*

### ***Mann, Thomas***

Dictatorships today have long passed the climax. People ruled by dictators, especially the Germans, are getting tired of false prophets whose means of propaganda have already been exhausted.

*Interview, April 12.*

### ***Moley, Raymond***

We become capable of self-government only through the exercise of it. We cannot delegate it. We cannot avoid it. It is only as we learn to participate in its processes that we preserve our welfare and our freedom, for the power that we surrender freely to a leader whom we love and trust may ultimately fall to a successor who will oppress and enslave us. This is the eternal answer to a dictatorship: It is better to go slowly and to participate in the process by which we move ahead, to discuss, to debate, to inform ourselves,

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and to enjoy the exercise of our freedom, than it is to permit a single man, who promises us the swift, easy, and effortless attainment of material benefits, to make our decisions for us.

*Radio address, February 12.*

### **Mussolini, Benito**

Germany and Italy share many of the fundamental principles in our respective ideologies. National Socialism and Fascism do not only have the same enemies in the world who serve the same master, the Third International, but they share an elevated conception of life and history. Germany and Italy likewise pursue the same policy in the economic sphere, a policy of economic autarchy, for the political freedom of a nation can only be guaranteed by its economic independence. A nation strong from the military point of view, might easily become the victim of an economic blockade.

*Berlin, September 28.*

In Fascist Italy capital is at the State's orders. It is necessary to emigrate into countries blessed by immortal principles to find the diametrically opposite phenomenon—a State prone to capital's orders.

*Rome, October 28.*

### **Norris, George W.**

No man on earth is wise enough to be trusted with authority from which there is no appeal.

*Interview, published May 30.*

### **Nye, Gerald P.**

The limitations placed by the Constitution on executive power make our constitutional government essentially

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opposed to a fascist government, where supreme power exists in the executive. In order, therefore, to preserve our form of government, it was and is essential to limit strictly the power of the executive.

*Radio address, February 21.*

### **Otto, Archduke**

National Socialism and Bolshevism both spring from the same source of discontent. The great trouble today is the decline of the middle class under capitalism and the belief of middle class people that under a dictatorship they can save themselves.

*Interview, published August 15.*

### **Rust, Bernhard**

Those nations that prize personal liberty as their most valuable possession must today recognize the end of it must be and always will be the most agonizing form of dictatorship, a dictatorship of the masses. In the end it means the destruction of national states.

*Gottingen, Germany, June 28.*

### **Simon, John**

These new-fangled methods of totalitarian states may give the appearance of great solidarity, and no doubt it is very impressive to see millions of people marshaled like one man. But there is weakness in the very nature and a philosophy of a dictator state from which we are free. Don't let us be misled by these appearances of mechanical solidarity.

*Peebles, Scotland, October 1.*

### **Thompson, Dorothy**

Had the predecessors of Mr. Hitler held Mr. Hitler's view of the press, never, never, never, would he have







# Education

## ***Angell, James R.***

In the deepest and most significant sense of the term the universities must always be conservative; they are the protectors of the great intellectual and spiritual traditions of the race. In them thought must move freely and unhampered by edict. Teaching must be faithful to the facts and unbiased by political threat or social pressure, and the investigator must be free to utter and publish his thoughtful findings.

*New Haven, Conn., February 22.*

The task of education today is more than ever before in the field of morals. The attitude of a man toward his job in the world is much more important than his intellectual equipment for the job. If he does not approach the world with an intelligent social altruism and with the willingness to impose upon himself a high degree of social discipline under which he will forego some of the individual prerogatives which he once could claim, then he is not yet educated.

*Interview, published June 20.*

One of the unequivocal blessings of a really good education is that it spurs the mind on to a sublime and enduring discontent with any particular stage of achievement and inspires men, contemptuous of the

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advancing years, to strive for ever wider vision, for continued victories over new territory. There are few more tragic intellectual figures than the college bred man who has become a power in his job at the expense of all the broader and finer aspects of life which were within his easy reach at the outset.

*New Haven, Conn., June 22.*

I believe the average intelligence of the radio audience is below the 13-year level.

*Interview, published September 26.*

### ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

It does not matter how varied the types of student may be or how their individualities may differ, education fails entirely unless it provides them all with a common denominator. The practice and policy of permitting the student, who is a mere child, to choose his own subjects of study or to pursue those and only those which appeal to his taste and fancy is a complete denial of the whole educational process. Those who call this type of school work progressive reveal themselves as afloat on a sea of inexperience without chart or compass or even rudder. Young people thus deprived of the privilege of real instruction and real discipline are sent into the world bereft of their great intellectual and moral inheritance.

*Interview, published January 3.*

The open, alert, vigorous, and well disciplined mind bent upon the achievement of high ideals in practical fashion, facing new facts and new problems as the passing years reveal them, always willing to change a point of view or to alter a policy if new facts and new conditions so warrant, is youthful by nature no

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matter how many years may have passed over it. The mounting years find it growing no older but keeping itself youthful, and manifesting that youth in a hundred ways.

*New York, June 1.*

Unless I am mistaken the future security of our Western civilization depends upon the universities of the democracies of the world, and on what they do to preserve what has been achieved. Universities owe it to themselves to defend freedom of thought and of speech, and freedom of public service.

*New York, October 15.*

### ***Butterfield, Ernest W.***

We may fairly say that 50 per cent of all boys will never find work in the professions and in the other resultants of a book-minded world, nor will they find employment in the special trades of the narrow compartments of industry. In this world, machine-minded boys will live more productively, more safely, more happily, than those who are book-minded alone.

*New York, April 1.*

### ***Chase, Harry W.***

The modern college is facing a renaissance of great teaching. Our true education will not turn out people whose beliefs are all alike, but will give proper training in logic and fact to enable them to make their own opinions. What we must do is to (so) teach the youth that they naturally round out a critical mind.

*New York, February 11.*

Our colleges and universities are the only defenses that we have for the preservation of reasonable degrees

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of freedom and democracy in the western world. When you consider the techniques of dictators and realize that inevitably and invariably dictatorships set out to capture education with the same zeal as they set out to capture the army and the press, you are amazed at what a particular type of training can do for the preservation of outmoded and barbaric ideas. If colleges have that much importance for dictators they have as much importance for democrats.

*New York, October 26.*

### ***Compton, Karl T.***

Your college career is no blessing unless it has done two things far more important than giving you the knowledge and skill which you now possess. One of these things is some realization of how much there is still to learn, and the other is a training and an eagerness which will keep pushing you ahead continually to extend your knowledge and improve your skill.

*Boston, June 6.*

### ***Flexner, Abraham***

Because the world has become infinitely more complex and extensive, it does not follow that education has to make special provision for every possible need that may perchance develop in the course of human life. The prepared mind is the mind which is stored with the history and fruits of human experience. If a mind so stored and so educated over a period of years cannot adapt itself to the exigencies of the particular situations encountered in practical life, it has been educated to no avail.

*Providence, R. I., June 19.*

## EDUCATION

### ***Fosdick, Harry E.***

It is a great thing to be a school teacher. And when now you come, you the teachers of our public schools, and lift your strong united voice saying, "A complete education involves religion," I think that is one of the most important and encouraging things happening in our time.

*New York, February 14.*

### ***Hopkins, Harry L.***

Two things have got to be done in education. In the first place, we've got to stop this whole business of letting youths leave school simply because their fathers are poor. I'm not saying that we shouldn't let them go out just because their fathers don't clip coupons. But I wouldn't have the colleges cluttered up with the rankest kind of people who are there only because their fathers have money. You've got to gear up the whole educational system so that every one can get an education regardless of wealth.

*New York, May 15.*

### ***Hughes, Charles Evans***

The primary function of the college is not specialization, but to afford stimulus and guidance in obtaining the general culture without which specialized effort is likely to miss the happiest fruition.

*Providence, R. I., June 21.*

### ***Hull, Cordell***

Under our system of government the type of life which individuals lead is determined by what a majority of them want. The function of our universities is to help an ever increasing number of men and women to

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judge intelligently what is best for the people to seek. They must be able to choose wisely, fairly, and in the light of that broad self-interest which gives full recognition to the rights of all the people.

*New Haven, Conn., June 23.*

### **Hutchins, Robert M.**

The depression has shown that the diminished opportunities for employment will cause people to enter industry at a later age than they did in the past. One effect of this will be an expansion of the junior college movement. A second thing which seems to be equally certain is that, with the advance of technology and the consequent shorter working day, there will be a tremendous expansion of adult education. The only question now is what course will that education take?

*Interview, January 16.*

It is perfectly possible to graduate from a good American college without reading a single great book in its entirety.

*Chicago, October 9.*

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### **Kilpatrick, William H.**

I wish our people, young or old, to realize that if they learn anything they must live that very thing. They will learn it in the degree that they live it. They cannot learn it unless they do live it. They must learn it "all over," through thinking, feeling, and bodily response. In the old formal school, children "learned" things in order to repeat them, to be examined on them. Those things never really became part of their being. That is why they forgot most of them as soon as they left school.

*Interview, published March 21.*

***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

We have been able to survive as a democracy, with a representative government, by reason of having an enlightened people, which is possible only through a great system of public education. Our economic system is confronted with a serious crisis for the simple reason that education and poverty will not mix. I sincerely hope that the younger generation will turn over the world to the following generation in better condition than we are turning it over to them.

*New York, March 20.*

***Lewis, William Mather***

The mission of the college is to develop the powers of thought and imagination necessary to solve the great social, industrial and political problems of the coming days. America has an overproduction of noisy panacea promoters and a dearth of calm, forward looking thinkers. There are 5,000,000 men and women in the United States who have at one time or another been college students. They could be of inestimable value if they were interested in applying their knowledge to social betterment.

*New York, March 19.*

***Norris, James F.***

Employers have never asked me what grades a student makes. They ask whether he has initiative, judgment, whether he is cooperative or a prima donna, whether he has ideas and personality. Universities are entirely at fault in the way they rate students and the employers know it, too. The ratings students get now have little to do with their usefulness to employers. Students should be allowed to find out things for themselves.

*New York, May 15.*



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### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

It is unfortunately true that in respect to public affairs and national problems, the excellently educated man and woman form the least worthwhile opinions, for the simple reason that they have enough education to make them think they know it all, whereas actually their point of view is based on associations with others who, in their geographical outlook, are about one inch wide.

*Radio address, October 5.*

### ***Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.***

Education should develop two things, skill of mind and skill of hand.

*Ithaca, N. Y., October 23.*

### ***Ruthven, Alexander G.***

There is on most campuses a little noisy minority. But I really believe one of the serious problems we have to face is the conservative thinking of our students. Somehow we must shock them out of the rut in which most of them are traveling today, and prepare them to keep up with social trends in a changing world.

*Hartford, Conn., February 5.*

### ***Sandburg, Carl***

If they are going to have oaths for teachers in twenty-one states of the Union, I don't see why authors of books, all motion picture players and scenario writers, all radio announcers and commentators, and all newspaper and magazine writers shouldn't also be sworn. What is the influence of the teacher, with a class of forty or fifty, compared with those who reach so many millions?

*Interview, January 16.*

## ***Seymour, Charles***

Unless the spirit of complete freedom prevail among students and teachers, freedom from external influence and internal pressure, we commit the unforgivable sin against the first of educational principles.

*New Haven, Conn., October 8.*

A man can load his mind with knowledge; he can read the Encyclopedia Britannica through from A to Z and still lack what it takes to be a good and happy citizen.

*Interview, published October 17.*

I know of no evidence to indicate that a man will make a better Secretary of the Interior, or a better Collector of Customs, or a better citizen, as a result of having concentrated upon the study of government, than if he had concentrated on the Greek and Latin classics.

*Providence, R. I., November 12.*

## ***Stoddard, Alexander J.***

It would seem that until our schools can attain reasonable success in developing generally the ability to think critically and to evaluate impassionately, even under condition of stress and strain, the public has a right to expect the schools to indoctrinate in favor of the political institutions it has founded.

*New York, January 23.*

## ***Tildsley, John L.***

The progress of any civilization does not lie in turning out men and women who will sit down calmly and coldly when an emergency arises and figure out what they can get out of it for themselves, but in making citizens through the educational process who

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will act instinctively, because of what they are, for the good of society.

*New York, February 6.*

The child's question mark is the 'awakening of the inquiring mind. Too often that impulse to find out has been stifled and we meet some graduates of schools whose powers of observation, reasoning and decision have been benumbed. They have so taken for granted everything they read and hear that they do not think at all, just memorize. The man of 50 who has been properly educated should have as much curiosity as the child of 5.

*New York, May 29.*

### ***Tweedsmuir, Lord***

Facts are our scarcest raw material, and the correct interpretation of them is one of the rarest products of the human mind.

*Kingston, Canada, June 17.*

### ***Williams, Aubrey***

If free education is to mean anything to the 3,500,000 who are denied opportunities to go to school, you must examine the spread of the national income. I often wonder why educators do not spend more of their time discussing the great spread of family income. There is no use talking to a boy in South Carolina about going to school when the average income of his father is \$129 a year.

*New York, November 6.*

# Foreign Affairs

## British Empire

### *Chamberlain, Neville*

Everybody knows that the British Empire stands for peace and that it never will use its forces for aggressive purposes. On the contrary, it will exert all its influence to preserve peace, not only for itself but for others as well. We know from our own experience that our influence waxes and wanes in proportion to our strength. The strength that we are now rapidly gaining from day to day and from week to week is in itself a steadying factor in international affairs, and probably the greatest bulwark for peace that exists in the world today.

*London, February 17.*

These next two years may well be critical in the history of Europe. Whether they end in chaos or in the gradual appeasement of old enmities to a restoration of confidence and stability, will depend very largely upon the part played by this country, a part which is bound to be important and may well be decisive.

*London, May 31.*

The mainspring of our British foreign policy is our desire to live at peace with our neighbors and to use

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

our influence to induce them if we can, should they have any differences with one another, to resolve them by peaceful discussion instead of by recourse to force.

*Manchester, England, October 14.*

This country (Britain) is strong. She is getting stronger every day. She has behind her vast and almost illimitable resources, and our very strength makes it easier for us to appeal to others to join us in applying our common sense and common humanity to the solution of these problems, which carry with them such tremendous possibilities for the happiness or misery of the human race.

*Edinburgh, November 12.*

### ***Cronin, Archibald J.***

Great Britain is looking to the United States for economic and political cooperation to prevent the chaos which seems imminent. The English are becoming increasingly isolated in Europe. We are the only true democracy left in Europe, and we are hoping for a warm rapprochement with America.

*Interview, November 15.*

### ***Eden, Anthony***

The British nation has no desire to spend money upon armaments. Yet let there be no mistake—in the existing conditions, it can and, if need be, will show as stubborn determination as any other nation in the re-equipment which it regards as vital to its national safety. But that is not the road we wish to travel. There is a better way. We definitely prefer butter to guns, and we are prepared to do our best, by economic cooperation and by working for European appeasement,

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

to secure that others have butter, too, in a world which has no need of guns.

*London, January 12.*

This country (Britain) has every intention of defending its national interests in the Mediterranean, as elsewhere in the world. There must be no mistake about that. Yet it is important that there should be no misconception anywhere; while we are determined to defend our own interests we have no intention of challenging those of others.

*London, July 19.*

While we are determined, if necessity arises, to defend our own vital interests and fulfill our international obligations, we will embark on no action contrary to the terms or the spirit of the covenant or Pact of Paris. We believe in the principle of the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and will do our utmost to secure general acceptance of the observance of that policy. Such being our object, it follows we will join no anti-Communist bloc and no anti-Fascist bloc. It is a nation's foreign policies, not its internal policies, that concerns us. We will work wholeheartedly with other nations who are like-minded. We offer co-operation to all, but we will accept dictation from none.

*London, November 1.*

### ***Gandhi, Mahatma***

If Untouchability doesn't go, Hinduism will go, and if Hinduism perishes, India will perish. Then there will be another culture in India and the face of my country will change entirely. But Untouchability will go and will go root and branch. It is going as fast as it can—as fast as we can get the workers to further

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

our efforts. It is a spiritual effort. When we have succeeded in obliterating the slightest difference between Untouchables and the highest forms of human beings, our main social work will be done.

*Interview, published January 24.*

American opinion is of great importance to us and by our deeds we hope to win it.

*Interview, July 20.*

### ***Hoare, Samuel***

Never was it so essential for the British Empire to be strong and for the empire to know how best to use its strength. The empire is the greatest area of internal peace the world has ever seen. Within its borders is the broadest freedom for races and nationalities to develop on their distinctive lines that ever has been known in history. Justice, law, order, tolerance, and good nature have never found so wide a kingdom. If all this were lost to the world how great would be the calamity to the human race.

*Bradford, England, February 5.*

Let the other countries of the world mark the determined effort we (Great Britain) are making to put our defense in order, and let them remember that when once we have put our hands to a great task we are willing to make great sacrifices. We are ready to bear heavy burdens, and though we may be slow at starting, we have a remarkable way of eventually finding ourselves at the winning post.

*Birmingham, England, February 11.*

Before 1914 the United States of America and Great Britain used to take into account each other's navy.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

They used to look suspiciously at each other's program. That kind of suspicion and naval rivalry has gone, I believe, forever. There can be no arms race with the United States because we have solemnly and irrevocably accepted the principle that there can be no rivalry between ourselves and the United States.

*London, March 11.*

### ***King, W. L. Mackenzie***

I may be entirely wrong but I doubt very much if the British Government themselves will again send an expeditionary force to the continent of Europe, and I think it is extremely doubtful that any of the dominions will ever send another expeditionary force to Europe. Were another war to come suddenly, I think we would find that the conditions of a world war would be different from what they were in the last war. That being so, anything in the nature of an expeditionary force to be sent from one continent to another would occasion more than a second thought.

*Ottawa, Canada, March 25.*

Never imagine that to the over-populated countries and undernourished peoples of other continents, the countless attractions and the limitless possibilities of Canada are unknown; or that, in some world holocaust our country would escape "the terror by night nor the arrow that flieth by day." Vigilance, in Canada, as elsewhere throughout the world, is the price of our security.

*Radio address, July 19.*

### ***Linlithgow, Marquess of***

I claim that it is common affection for democratic principles that holds the Commonwealth together in



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loyalty to the Crown, and I believe India at heart is loyal to those ideals, and that her highest destiny lies within the brave sisterhood of States which stands as a bulwark against the forces that threaten the very soul of man.

*Simla, India, September 13.*

### ***Marler, Herbert M.***

Canada today, with a whole and ardent heart, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, desires before all else the preservation of the unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations and the British Empire.

*New York, January 7.*

### ***Runciman, Walter***

No one who has visited the United States can imagine that our (British) happy relations with America will ever be severed. But how beneficial it would be to the world as a whole if our fiscal policy and that of the United States were running on parallel lines.

*London, February 24.*

## **Far East**

### ***Arita, Hachiro***

One of Japan's most important missions is to defeat bolshevization of Manchukuo and save China from a similar fate. Under such circumstances, Japan must expect some unfavorable repercussions in connection with her policy, and there may be various difficulties ahead of us in adjusting our relations with China and preserving friendship with Britain and America.

*Radio address, January 5.*

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The naval limitation treaty among the world's three major sea powers, Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, has expired with the past year. Our government, adhering as faithfully as ever to the principle of non-menace and non-aggression, have certainly no desire to initiate a race for naval construction. Indeed, we have seized every opportunity to express our sincere aspirations for naval limitations, and it is still the cherished hope of the Japanese Government that there will be concluded as soon as possible a just and fair treaty of limitation among the powers concerned, to contribute to the cause of world peace.

*Tokyo, January 20.*

### ***Chiang Kai-shek***

I am against so called dictatorships for China. I am for constitutional government. The Chinese people's flounderings toward constitutionalism have perhaps misled foreigners to believe that unity with democratic procedure is impossible in China, but the situation as it is today reveals that surely and steadily they are moving toward the goal. My policy has been to avoid conflict, hoping that not only popular opinion in China and Japan, but world opinion would exercise its influence to prevent the further dismemberment of China. In the meantime, China has been intensifying her efforts to organize effective government and build up her strength so that she may take her rightful place in the family of nations.

*Interview, published January 3.*

We are as determined as ever to defend ourselves (China) to the utmost. Not until justice is upheld and the sanctity of international treaties is observed do we cease our resistance. If other nations who have signed treaties are unable to prevent violation of the laws,

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thus allowing Japan to continue without restraint this ruthless war, it is tantamount to assisting Japan and destroying us.

*Interview, October 7.*

### ***Davis, Norman H.***

The Government of the United States is prepared to share in the common efforts to devise, within the scope of these (Nine-Power) treaty provisions and principles, a means of finding a pacific solution which will provide for terminating hostilities in the Far East and for restoring peace in that area.

*Brussels, November 3.*

### ***Eagleton, Clyde***

If and when Japan has defeated the Chinese armies on the battlefield, she will be exhausted by the task of holding any part of China in order, for the Chinese are too incensed to submit . . . Win or lose, in the military sense, the Japanese are bound to lose in the economic and political sense.

*New York, October 9.*

### ***Hayashi, Senjuro***

For the sake of the peace of the Orient, it is of course necessary that the Soviet Union should correctly comprehend Japan's position in East Asia, and that both the Soviet Union and Japan should seek to establish harmonious relations. To speed negotiations on pending issues toward an amicable settlement is to contribute to the accomplishment of this end. I wish, therefore, to urge upon the authorities of the Soviet Union to take a broad view and cooperate with us in that regard.

*Tokyo, February 14.*

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### ***Hirota, Koki***

Our national policy aims at securing Japan's position as a stabilizing force in East Asia and contributing to the establishment of true peace of the world.

*Tokyo, July 27.*

Japan needs something from China and China needs something from Japan. My mind is occupied at present by the thought that if China will participate in the Berlin anti-Comintern agreement and communism is driven from the Orient, then the peace of the Far East will be firmly assured.

*Tokyo, August 5.*

### ***Koo, V. K. Wellington***

In our struggle against the forces of Japanese aggression, with a whole nation behind us, resolute in purpose and undaunted in spirit, we do not ask other signatory powers (to Nine-Power Treaty) to fight for us, but we need material help to enable us to continue our effective resistance. In order to shorten the duration of hostilities and hasten the restoration of peace, it is also necessary to refrain from contributing to the aggressor's financial and economic resources, and feeding him with an uninterrupted flow of arms and raw material for his war industries.

*Brussels, November 13.*

### ***Kung, Hsiang H.***

We believe that the development of a united, strong, peaceful, and progressive China will be the best guarantee of peace in the Far East, and will enable her to contribute her full share, together with American and other friendly countries, toward the advancement of human happiness and welfare. . . . (The American

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people) have the money, the capital goods, and the technical skill to help us, and share our benefits. Visualize what immense benefits to the trade and general economy of your country will result from even a small increase in the standard of living of the 470,000,000 people of China.

*New York, July 6.*

### **MacArthur, Douglas**

Never, in word or deed, so far as I know, has Japan given any indication of a desire to absorb the Philippines. Propaganda to that effect generally is traceable to those who have some ulterior motive to be served.

*Interview, published May 29.*

### **Matsui, Iwane**

I am convinced that what is most urgently needed at the present moment is to save China from communist influences. This is not only for China alone but also for the whole of East Asia. My firm belief is that now is the time when the national spirit inherent in the people of Japan should, in accordance with the basic principles of time-honored Oriental ethics, assert itself in the self-sacrificing efforts which are typical of the Japanese. A Chinese maxim says that when convinced of righteousness, go straight forward even against millions of opponents. This exactly describes our present convictions. The whole world can rest assured and see what Japan is going to do.

*Interview, October 10.*

### **Saito, Hiroshi**

The friendship between Japan and the United States has abided. It is a flower planted on substantial soil.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

It has withstood the swaying of the storm and the beating of the rain and has risen erect again and again. Sometimes it has needed help to rise, but it has always had this from the hands of kindly gardeners.

*New York, March 30.*

The great mass of Chinese people have not been affected by the anti-Japanese poison distilled for the past twelve or more years by communist agitators, selfish war lords and ambitious politicians. With China's millions, Japan has no quarrel—nor have those millions anything to fear from Japan.

*Radio address, October 27.*

### ***Sato, Naotake***

Japan has no territorial ambitions in China . . . If the time should come when the Soviet withdraws support from the Comintern, not only Japan's but all international relations with Russia will benefit.

*Tokyo, March 8.*

### ***Takaishi, Shingoro***

Japan has no intention of creating an independent State in North China with her acting as the guardian, as it will be too costly; but some kind of special arrangement to safeguard Japan's vested interests there and to prevent China from being sovietized will, no doubt, be demanded in the peace negotiations.

*New York, November 13.*

### ***Wang, Chengting T.***

What China is fighting for today is for peace—for democracy.

*Radio address, November 4.*

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### **France**

#### ***Blum, Leon***

No one in the world could believe in the possibility of aggression by France against any other nation.

*Paris, March 17.*

In this country (France) where real wealth even today is less than it was in 1914, it is almost paradoxical to carry to victory a social welfare policy along with the gigantic national defense burden imposed on us. France's military equipment is more extensive today than the country has ever known.

*Montrouge, France, May 29.*

We must do nothing to alter the Franco-Soviet treaty. What we can do most to favor the cause of peace is to favor confident relations with Russia and England.

*Paris, November 7.*

#### ***Bonnet, Georges***

When a country (France) has had her national territory occupied so many times in the course of history, one must admit that she has serious grounds for seeking to assure her own defense.

*New York, April 3.*

Should we let French credit become undermined again, should we give ourselves over to easy illusions, and should we show ourselves incapable of putting our house in order, we shall lay ourselves open to losing our liberties and peace at the same time.

*Perigueux, France, August 7.*

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### ***Chautemps, Camille***

If we wish to save France from the dangers of enslavement, it is indispensable that democracy should demonstrate its ability to solve the great problems now dominating the lives of citizens and the security of the nation. We must know how to go forward calmly with our social evolution while making plain by our moral unity and resolution that we can raise an insurmountable barrier against outside aggression.

*Paris, March 3.*

### ***Daladier, Edouard***

Never has the friendship of France for the peoples of Britain been so profoundly alive as it is today.

*Manchester, England, April 24.*

### ***Dimnet, Ernest***

I believe the French people will continue to live under a liberal democracy, and I believe that very strongly. Moreover, I think the Popular Front government of Premier Blum will survive quite a while longer.

*Interview, January 22.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

France is carrying on in the tradition of a great civilization, a civilization with which our own culture has had full communion from our very beginnings as a nation. We of this country have not forgotten nor could we ever forget the aid given us by France in the dark days of the American Revolution.

*Radio address, August 1.*



## **Germany**

### ***Blomberg, Werner von***

Other nations should not take lightly that we (Germany) stretch our hands out in reconciliation. Let them think also what it means for strengthening the world's morals that we tore up the iniquitous Versailles treaty, and as a free people now are setting our house in order in the center of Europe. When this is fully realized it will also be understood why we fight Bolshevism.

*Berlin, February 21.*

### ***Eden, Anthony***

Germany has it in her power to influence the choice which will decide not only her fate but that of Europe. If she chooses full and equal cooperation with other nations, there is nobody in this country (Britain) who will not assist wholeheartedly to remove misunderstanding and make the way smooth for peace and prosperity.

*London, January 19.*

### ***Goebbels, Joseph Paul***

The Church is there to prepare the people for the Kingdom of Heaven, and we don't want to compete in that sphere. Our mission comes to us from the people. The preachers say their mission comes from God. Well, we can't very well judge that claim. We don't want Church strife but, in this Germany down here on earth, it is we who govern, and every German must obey our laws.

*Berlin, June 21.*

Frontiers can be created with wooden or stone barriers,

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

but that which is German will feel itself one through all eternity.

*Breslau, Germany, July 31.*

It is obvious that certain clerical quarters are dissatisfied because we Germans are happy. They live in pessimism. It is their business to make a discouraged people even more discouraged. They want us all to be sad and misanthropic. They want need and poverty in the country to be ever greater. Then the people would turn to them. Now, however, they have become unnecessary. They are like goods ordered but not taken away.

*Berlin, November 5.*

### **Goering, Hermann**

May all those who believe perhaps that as a last resort they can overthrow Germany by murder and cowardly assassination realize that the ardent love of the whole people will form the most secure wall possible around our leader and his true comrades. Woe to him who plays with fire! It will not suffice that he alone or a certain number should perish, but all who are of his opinion, who sympathize with his intentions shall be burned to a crisp. Comrades, let us build around our Fuehrer a ring nothing can penetrate. Let us also build such a ring around the German nation that an enemy may not even put his foot on German soil.

*Berlin, March 16.*

When German blood has been spilled, it cannot be made good with ink. Blood must flow again. Whoever does not yet comprehend that Germany cannot be wounded without punishment will have learned from recent events that we are again masters of our fate.

*Berlin, June 5.*

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

Nobody is permitted to doubt Germany's devotion to peace. So far as it depends upon Germany there will not be another war.

*Berlin, June 28.*

### **Hitler, Adolf**

If we further intensify and secure economic self-sufficiency for the German people this will not be in order to cut ourselves off from the world about us, but in the conviction that a really healthy world can be built only on healthy individual economies, and that a solution of the world economic crisis must have its origin in a solution of the politics and economic domestic crises of individual peoples . . . In endeavoring to put the German people in order politically, morally, and economically, we not only secure our own future, but in our opinion, also serve the outside world. This bulwark here of true European culture and social justice will prove a more effective agency in the preservation of European peace and order than a turbulent state torn asunder by many opinions and suffering economically.

*Berlin, January 11.*

When four years ago I assumed the Chancellorship and with that the leadership of the German nation, I also shouldered the arduous duty of leading the nation back to its national honor after it had been forced for fifteen years to exist as a pariah.

*Berlin, January 30*

There could be no commercial enterprise if the steel shield of national armed might were not held protectingly over it. If any one tells us we cannot carry the load much longer, let him hear the answer. The

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

German will carry his steel helmet—in any case as long as others do.

*Regensburg, Germany, June 6.*

Next to God in heaven above, we German National Socialists believe most firmly in our German people. This makes us strong, it makes us capable of resistance, and it gives us the power to undertake Herculean tasks with a distant future in view.

*Wurzburg, Germany, June 27.*

A nation has been resurrected. A Reich has been born again. The German has found himself again. He has acted according to the purpose of his Creator. What power has the right to limit the life of this people which in its very songs seeks not something foreign but only itself. It is a strong Reich and a proud Reich, so proud and so worthy that every German can now confess joyfully, "I am German and I am proud of it."

*Breslau, Germany, July 31.*

A Bolshevized Europe would make our (German) commercial policies impossible because we could no longer find markets.

*Nuremburg, Germany, September 13.*

In a period in which the world is full of tension and disturbing confusion, in which dangerous elements attempt to attack and destroy Europe's old culture, Italy and Germany have found each other in sincere friendship and joint political cooperation.

*Berlin, September 27.*

We recall a period of fifteen years before National Socialism came into power, a time which was marked

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by oppression, exploitation, the denial of equal rights with other nations and an unutterable mental torture and material distress. The ideals of liberalism and democracy have not preserved the German nation from the worst depression history has ever seen. National Socialism was thus forced to create a new ideal and a more effective one, according all human rights to our people which had been denied the nation for fifteen long years.

*Berlin, September 28.*

There is no nation in the world which longs more for peace than Germany.

*Berlin, September 28.*

### **Koht, Halvdan**

I do not think the Nazi regime intends to wage war despite its tremendous preparations. A war would be the greatest danger to Hitler. The German army is madness, but so are other armies. I am convinced that Hitler does not want war, but he educates a war generation and creates a war mentality which is dangerous.

*Interview, published November 7.*

### **Lewis, John L.**

Unionism no longer exists in Germany. The liberties won by German workers through many centuries of toilsome struggle have been blotted out as though they had never been. Germany has reverted to the middle ages, and by that reversion, her workers have been degraded almost to serfdom. What liberties has a German worker today? He must live as he is told to live; he must work where he is told to work. If

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he ventures a word of protest he is all too likely to cease abruptly from both working and living. He has no more voice in the government of his nation than he has in the government of his life.

*New York, March 15.*

### ***Lewisohn, Ludwig***

If people expel Jews then there is something wrong with those who expel them. The Germans have had an inferiority complex since the peace of Westphalia. That manifested itself in disunion and in an effort to unite. It was not until 1871 that they were united and when they were licked in 1918 they could not accept that fact.

*Interview, April 20.*

### ***Luther, Hans***

Germany has as its philosophy that every nation is entitled to develop its own form of government. But communism cannot and will not stop at the borders of its country, but is determined to cover the face of the globe and destroy the foundation of our economic life. Germany naturally is thinking of itself, and we consider communism in Spain would be a distinct threat to Germany. Her real purpose is to defend herself, but in so doing she also defends others.

*Interview, January 14.*

### ***Runciman, Walter***

If all the former German colonies were now under the German flag it would not create a revolution in Germany's prosperity.

*Interview, January 18.*

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### ***Sollmann, Wilhelm***

The crisis of the Nazi regime is rapidly nearing a climax. The belief, even in Nazi circles, is general that the rulers of the Third Reich will not be able to master economic difficulties. The situation is aggravated by an increasing war fear.

*Interview, January 20.*

### ***Streicher, Julius***

Wherever Germans lived they were at all times the spring which gave strength to the earth's nations. So long as this spring does not dry, the earth will live; when it becomes exhausted humanity will perish.

*Duesseldorf, Germany, August 10.*

### ***Thompson, Dorothy***

Why are the German Nazis interested in interfering in domestic governments throughout the world? It is of course partly fanatical belief that they have a world mission. But there are other more practical reasons. Nations which are divided by racial and class strife are weak nations. They are scared nations, and they are not likely to make trouble for any aggressor anywhere.

*Radio address, September 3.*

### ***Wise, Stephen S.***

Today there is work in Germany, but almost in one field alone, in the field of armaments. Take away from Germans the work they are doing in preparation for war and I venture to say ten or twelve million Germans would be unemployed tomorrow.

*New York, January 31.*

## **Italy**

### ***Ciano, Galeazzo***

Although it cannot be said that the vicissitudes of recent times have brought about particularly intense political relations between (the United States and Italy), nevertheless the Fascist Government follows with close sympathy the efforts of American statesmen to facilitate world economic reconstruction, and is ready as soon as an opportunity presents itself to contribute the most active cooperation. On our side we should be happy if a better comprehension of our ideals and our works permitted the American public not to allow itself so frequently to be led astray by propaganda whose origins and aims can easily be recognized.

*Rome, May 13.*

### ***George, David Lloyd***

I'd rather have Italy's anger than Italy's contempt.  
*London, March 25.*

### ***Mussolini, Benito***

Inside and outside the Mediterranean we wish to live in peace with all States and are offering our collaboration to those who manifest similar intentions. We are arming on the sea, in the air, and on the land because this is our necessary duty in the face of the armaments of others. However, the Italian people demands that it be left tranquil because it is bent on long and arduous tasks.

*Tripoli, Libya, March 17.*

If the Mediterranean Sea is a highway for other nations, it is life for Italy. We have repeatedly stated



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that we do not intend to menace that highway. We say, however, that our rights and our vital interests in the Mediterranean must be respected by other nations. If any nation schemes to close that sea to suffocate and starve our people, then we shall spring to our feet as one man, ready for a titanic struggle with a determination unprecedented in history.

*Interview, published April 22.*

For some time more or less responsible elements in the so-called great democracies (there would be much to be said about these democracies, beginning with that which up to a month ago had no knowledge of or forbade collective labor contracts) have seemed to think that the so-called authoritarian States should give up their plans for economic independence—it is not clear in consideration of what compensation. For us this is impossible because Italy does not wish to place herself bound and gagged in the hands of her possible enemies of tomorrow.

*Rome, May 15.*

I have said in the most categorical manner that we will not tolerate Bolshevism or anything like it in the Mediterranean and within a few steps from our home. These perturbations brought about by people absolutely exterior to the Mediterranean must be discarded.

*Palermo, Sicily, August 20.*

The whole nation (Italy) must acquire the autarchic mentality—be ready to do without those non-indispensable products that may be replaced by ours with advantageous results for our trade balance.

*Rome, October 11.*

***Revel, Paolo Thaon di***

Those who are in the habit of measuring a country's financial strength with the yardstick of its bank of issue may have some doubt about the possibilities of Fascist finance. Not so the Italians, who know there are other forces producing wealth, even though they cannot be estimated in terms of money—they are order, discipline, the spirit of sacrifice and passion for work.

*Rome, May 20.*

**Spain**

***Azana, Manuel***

In twelve months Madrid has been able to do the impossible. It has created a great army. I disdain the story circulated abroad that there ever was a big foreign army in Madrid that was responsible for preventing the inhabitants from surrendering. That is an utter falsehood. Madrid is being defended by its own children.

*Radio address, November 13.*

***Chamberlain, Neville***

The policy of His Majesty's Government has always remained the same, namely, to try to prevent the conflict (in Spain) from spreading over the rest of Europe. As I don't believe anybody wants to start a European conflagration, I do not see why, with a little ingenuity and good will, we should not find a solution for our difficulties which would be immediately relieved if we could agree upon the withdrawal

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of foreign volunteers, leaving Spain to settle her own future for herself.

*London, July 8.*

### ***Eden, Anthony***

There are 24,000,000 reasons why Spain will never for long be dominated by the forces or controlled by the advice of a foreign power. They are the 24,000,000 Spaniards who today inhabit war-ridden Spain. Whatever the final outcome of this strife—and there may be many phases which have a transient air of finality before that outcome is reached—the Spanish people will, after this civil war as for centuries before it, continue to display that proud independence, that almost arrogant individualism which is a distinctive characteristic of the race.

*Liverpool, England, April 12.*

All history goes to show that decisions in civil strife brought about as the outcome of foreign intervention are not enduring. Each country must and will settle its own affairs, and attempts to deflect that process by foreign intervention will not finally be successful. Let me remind you that the Duke of Wellington, who surely had some experience of Spanish conflicts, wrote more than a hundred years ago, "There is no country in Europe in the affairs of which foreigners can interfere with so little advantage as Spain."

*London, October 15.*

We (Britain) have every desire to live on friendly terms with Spain, whatever may be the outcome of this conflict, and I believe Spain, no matter what the outcome is, will share that sentiment.

*London, November 1.*

***Franco, Francisco***

The only conclusion of the (Spanish Civil) war that we would admit is our victory. The immense majority of Spaniards who live in the Red zone are subject to demagogic tyranny and hope for liberation in a triumph of Nationalist arms. The disaffected are Communists and Anarchists.

*Interview, June 17.*

***Hemingway, Ernest***

If General Franco takes Bilbao the (Spanish Civil) war will probably continue for another two years. If he doesn't, the war could possibly end late this fall or in the spring. Time is definitely on the Loyalists' side.

*Interview, May 18.*

***Hitler, Adolf***

Just as Britain and France profess to be concerned that Spain may be occupied by Italy or Germany, so we are disturbed by the prospect that Spain may be conquered by Soviet Russia. Such a conquest need not be in the nature of an occupation by Russian troops. It would become an accomplished fact the very moment a Bolshevized Spain became an intriguing annex of the Moscow Bolshevik headquarters from which it would receive not only political orders but material subventions.

*Nuremburg, Germany, September 13.*

***McElroy, Robert***

England would not peacefully permit the control of Spain by Hitler or Mussolini because that would endanger Gibraltar, one of her chief strongholds.

*Chapel Hill, N. C., June 30.*

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### ***Negri, R. P. de***

If the struggle (Spanish Civil War) continues it will lead to a conflagration that will consume the entire world. The Loyalists would win in thirty days if it were not for outside influence.

*Interview, August 31.*

### ***Peers, E. Allison***

Some hope for mediation, an armistice, or a plebiscite under international auspices might be possible if either or both sides (in Spain) were exhausted, or the presence of foreign troops could be made the starting point for the suspension of hostilities, that is, to permit of evacuation.

*Interview, May 11.*

### ***Trotsky, Leon***

The Soviet bureaucracy is sabotaging the Spanish Revolution in order not to frighten the French bourgeoisie. The Soviet bureaucracy does not give the support it could give if it really wanted to help Spain. It is aiding only enough to save its face with the workers of the world . . . It is not going over-far to say that the Spanish proletariat was prevented from seizing power in Spain because of lack of full Soviet help.

*Interview, January 12.*

## **U. S. S. R.**

### ***Hitler, Adolf***

The world is in a state of growing unrest emanating from the Jewish Bolshevik dictatorship in Moscow.

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If Russia is to be a bridgehead whence other nations are to be invaded, there arises a problem that will be solved only because it has to be solved.

*Nuremburg, Germany, September 13.*

### ***Molotoff, Vyachesloff M.***

Soviet foreign policy has been consistent throughout the years. It is a policy of peace. In the strengthening of our peaceful relations with other states is reflected the confidence of our country in its own strength. Our economy develops.

*Moscow, November 6.*

### ***Stalin, Joseph***

In former times, under capitalistic economic administrations, directors, managers, etc., were considered the bloodhounds of the capitalist bosses. People hated them as enemies because they believed that they managed affairs in the interest of the bosses for the profits of the capitalists. In our Soviet regime to the contrary, economic administrators have every reason to enjoy the love and trust of the people because they manage not for the profit of a group of capitalists but for the interests of the working class and the interests of the whole people.

*Moscow, October 31.*

### ***Trojanovsky, Alexander A.***

I want to emphasize that the Soviet Union is not a Communist State. In the first article of the new constitution it is clearly stated that "the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a Socialist State of workers and peasants." Even as a slogan or as an aim, Communism is not mentioned in the constitution. Communism as a full measure of freedom, as the

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realization of the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," is not mentioned in the constitution, either as a characteristic of the Soviet State or as its objective.

*New York, January 28.*

How unfortunate would our country be if our Government and our Stalin had not foreseen the aggressive tendencies of certain countries which want to jump on us at any moment. Without our Red Army we would have been crushed by the most brutal forces which have grown around us. No one can find the slightest pretext to accuse the Soviet Union of aggressive aspirations.

*New York, November 5.*

### ***Voroshiloff, Klementy E.***

As matters stand today we must stand on guard. There are enemies threatening the Soviet Union, and against them we must be ready. That is the motto of the Red Army, and we are ready. But we don't want to fight; we want peace, and we would be the first to welcome peaceful action from any quarter.

*Moscow, March 23.*

We do not desire war, but we do not fear war, and we are ready for war.

*Moscow, November 6.*

### ***Yegoroff, A. I.***

The second Five Year Plan has raised the defensive power of the Soviet State to an immeasurably higher level. On the twentieth anniversary of Soviet power our people can safely declare that the U.S.S.R. is a genuine titan. Today the Red Army can say honestly

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and in harmony with the people that there is no power in the world which could prevail against the Soviet Union.

*Moscow, November 6.*

### **Miscellaneous**

#### ***Holsti, Rudolf***

Small countries never can have too many friends or too few enemies.

*Interview, February 11.*

#### ***Marley, Lord***

Much of the enmity toward minority groups in Eastern Europe, especially the Jews, is due almost wholly to their concentration in the professions or the middle classes. If Jews are to come out of their extremely vulnerable position they should realize that it is necessary now for them to distribute themselves into every walk of life.

*New York, May 5.*

#### ***Schuschnigg, Kurt***

I never have made a secret of the fact that it is my personal belief that Austria's destiny is bound up in the ultimate restoration of the Hapsburgs. But the labor of completing the State, making it function in a manner best serving the people, has nothing to do with the form of government. So restoration is a matter which can wait; it may have to wait a number of years. First, a majority of Austrians will have to be convinced that restoration is desirable. Further-



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more, I say openly and freely that if I have any control over the destinies of Austria at this uncertain date when restoration may be feasible, it will not be attempted if there is the least possibility of jeopardizing peace.

*Interview, April 8.*

### ***Vargas, Getulio***

The new regime that Brazil has inaugurated, without the slightest doubt, gives battle without quarter to the Communist threat both on doctrine and by force . . . There will be a reinforced and enlarged effort to insure and develop the traditional relations of friendship uniting Brazil and the United States, following the good neighbor policy of President Roosevelt, whom Brazil regards as one of the world's greatest statesmen and the greatest citizen of the Americas.

*Interview, November 13.*

### ***Wise, Stephen S.***

What, after all, is supposed to be one of the chief objects of partition (of Palestine)? Peace between Jew and Arab. There could be no surer way of postponing and averting Jewish peace with the Arabs than to creat a tiny Jewish State in which Arabs will almost equal the Jews in number and next to it have a purely Arab State.

*Zurich, Switzerland, August 8.*

# Freedom

## ***Baruch, Bernard M.***

To regulate everything in a country of the size and complexity of ours is an infinite task for which there is little, if any, experience. We must step in to control uneconomic areas and straighten out the hills and dales in the curve of our industrial progress. To the extent that we fail to do that, we are our brothers' keepers, and we must take care of the victims of our failure. But in doing these paramount duties, it is unnecessary and it is most unwise to destroy individual initiative, unnecessarily to restrict individual freedom, or in the least degree to abolish opportunity for individual advancement and gain, which has been, and ever will remain, the dynamo of all our progress.

*Schenectady, N. Y., June 14.*

## ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

The notion one man may oppress his fellow man for his own gain or glory is immoral.

*Southampton, N. Y., September 5.*

## ***Coffin, Henry Sloane***

Without the delusion that man can usher in a millenium, our generation can, with God's help, make a lasting contribution to mankind. If grateful to those who

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won our liberties, we can conserve them in a day when other lands have lost them, that is something. If we can combine liberty with a larger measure of justice and enable our people to become a fellowship with none debarred from privileges for health and education and culture and faith, that would be a glorious bequest to pass on to our successors.

*New York, January 10.*

### **Compton, Karl T.**

There is grave danger that the great triumph in setting up a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, is being replaced by a government of the people, by the government, and for the government. In proportion as this comes to pass, we will have lost the emphasis on individual liberty and initiative and rights of minorities, which all agree have provided the environment responsible for the remarkable progress in material welfare, education, and satisfaction in living, which have marked the last two centuries of Occidental civilization.

*Boston, October 28.*

### **Conant, James B.**

Being one of a harmonious group, though essential for the well-balanced life of most of us, carries with it a constant threat, a constant insidious pressure to conform to the very bottom of our souls. How to resist this pressure without migration to a lonely mountain top is one of the main problems of the modern man who would be free.

*Cambridge, Mass., June 20.*

### **Coolidge, T. Jefferson**

I refuse to admit that we, as a people, are prepared to turn over to Washington bureaus control over our

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individual welfare. I am convinced that such a policy is destructive to self-government and is contrary to the welfare and happiness of the people.

*White Sulphur Springs, West Va., November 6.*

### **Davey, Martin L.**

America will never tolerate a defiance of the laws nor the use of violence and bloodshed to gain the selfish objectives of heartless and selfish leaders. America must remain the land of free people, with their liberties unimpaired. In no other manner can America survive with her priceless blessings.

*New York, November 9.*

### **De Valera, Eamon**

Every citizen should see in the basic public law of his country the sure safeguard of his individual rights as a human being—God's given rights which even the civil power must not invade. The protection of these rights means more in the long run to moral integrity and continuance of organized society itself than reorganization of the institutions by which it is ruled.

*Radio address, April 30.*

### **Frank, Glenn**

In this modern economy of science, technology, and power production, anything like an every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost *laissez faire* is obviously anti-social and, in the end, breaks even the man who may, for a time, profit by its practice.

*New York, February 8.*

### **Green, William**

We call upon the people of the United States who believe in the protection of all classes of the people,

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regardless of creed and nationality, and who believe in freedom, democracy, and liberty, to broadcast and apply the boycott against German goods and German services so long as persecution, intolerance, and repression are imposed upon the working people of Germany and upon the Jewish race.

*New York, January 31.*

We wish all classes of people to know that the American Federation of Labor stands as a staunch defender of free assemblage, free speech, free press, and for the exercise of the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of conscience. There can be no place in the American Federation of Labor for any group or any organization which does not believe in and subscribe to these principles and to these policies.

*Dallas, September 6.*

### **Hoover, Herbert**

True liberalism is liberty organized under law. It everlastingly reacts to one test: does this or that act make for the freedom of mind and spirit of men? Does it make for the dignity of all men? And let no man tell you that intellectual and spiritual liberty are not the sole anchor of American civilization. True liberalism does not start as an economic system. An economic system flows from it. The only economic system which will not destroy intellectual and spiritual freedom is private enterprise, regulated to prevent special privilege or coercion.

*Boston, October 26.*

In the United States we do not suffer from any restriction in the free flow of words. We use more billion words per capita or per minute or per decibel than any other people on earth.

*Waterville, Maine, November 8.*

## ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

I firmly believe that persecution of minorities anywhere in the world today is unnecessary. It doesn't take a strong man or a brave one to persecute a weak minority. There is no reason why any human being should not expect and receive justice in any country in the world today. There is no "ersatz" for justice.

*New York, May 2.*

## ***Landon, Alf M.***

The four great scourges of the average man are unemployment, sickness, accident, and penniless old age. Unless liberty and freedom can help us overcome them, liberty and freedom are nothing but empty phrases.

*Radio address, October 19.*

## ***Lehman, Herbert H.***

In this country I have no fear that liberty will be destroyed, that tyranny can ever take the place of democracy, that intolerance will again assume power. The pioneer spirit of liberty still lives here, the traditional policy of civil and religious liberty still animates our people. Our nation is composed of peoples of many stocks and of many religions, but we are united by an intense love of liberty. We are a nation born of a great ideal and as long as the nation survives, that ideal must and will be cherished and preserved.

*New York, September 20.*

There is no place in American life for group or clique or faction who encourage dual alliance. Our nation has become great because here, races and nationalities have lived side by side with each other in friendship and understanding because they were actuated solely by

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the common interest of love of state and country. They have respected each other's hopes and ideals and racial characteristics, because they realized that from all races and from all religions spread equal loyalty and equal devotion to our country. How fortunate are we that our lot has been cast in a country where both by constitutional mandate and by the ideals of the people themselves, religious and political freedom is guaranteed to all.

*New York, October 12.*

### **Ley, Robert**

We must grant the unmarried mother, who bears a child as a result of natural healthy instincts, the same respect and the same protection as we grant married mothers. We used to have a habit of looking down on illegitimate children. It was an old fashioned prejudice that has today become an absurdity.

*Berlin, February 11.*

### **Lippmann, Walter**

The mass of men must be leavened by individuals who are self-moving, who do not habitually conform, who question not only the conclusion but the premises and the character of the evidence, who raise disturbing doubts, who imagine unexpected theories, who are not easily impressed, who are not easily overawed, do not automatically follow the fashions in ideas, are not afraid to be wrong, and do not become panicky if they are alone.

*Northampton, Mass., June 21.*

### **Murphy, Frank**

Blind adherence to a legalistic philosophy which demands only rigid obedience to the letter of the law and

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which chooses to ignore the spirit of the law as well as the realities of life, will surely lead to the eventual frustration of the democratic ideal of true freedom.

*Detroit, March 21.*

When government is haughty and arrogant it becomes a hateful thing indeed, without real value and without a worthwhile cause. Human beings writhe under the restraint and repression which it imposes upon them. They feel intellectually and spiritually stifled. Slowly but surely they give voice to the most intense kind of protest. In the pages of history one may read the tragedies of the many governments which have been crushed in the storm of hatred conceived by their own arrogance.

*New York, May 14.*

### **O'Mahoney, Joseph C.**

For half a century the people of America have been resisting direction of their economic life and of their government by big business. But when, to resist the evil effects of the monopolistic corporation, we increase the discretionary regulatory power of the central government over the activities of both corporations and citizens, we are moving inevitably in an anti-democratic direction and toward a collectivist State.

*Washington, D. C., June 16.*

### **Quezon, Manuel L.**

The sooner (Philippine) independence is granted the better it will be for both. The Philippines can manage their own affairs, and the United States can relieve itself of its responsibilities.

*Interview, July 20.*



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America's voluntary withdrawal from a country already under its lawful domain—so rich in natural resources and so promising in material returns—stands as a beacon light pointing the way to distressed humanity out of threatening universal disaster—a way which that great advocate of national rights, Woodrow Wilson, appropriately called self-determination.

*Manila, Philippines, November 15.*

### ***Richberg, Donald R.***

We cannot permit private concentrations of power to regiment our lives into the service of money masters. We cannot permit governmental power to regiment our lives into the service of political masters. In either of these alternatives we sacrifice liberty on the altar of a false security. It is only by preserving control of our lives through processes of self-government that we can hope to realize in the end a true security.

*New York, January 21.*

### ***Richmond, Charles A.***

All the significance of life is found in individuality, and this inevitably and always is its final test. Here in this single truth we can always discover at once why we have lost our way and the clue back to it. Every man who thinks at all knows that the atmosphere of our present age is hostile to the individual; a man who calls himself an individualist is branded as a kind of criminal, public enemy, royalist, economic Tory. The modern world has no use for him and has decreed his extinction. We have not only mass production, but mass mentality.

*Schenectady, N. Y., March 28.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

You who know me can have no fear that I would

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tolerate the destruction by any branch of government of any part of our heritage of freedom.

*Radio address, March 9.*

We as a nation seek spiritual union with all who love freedom. Of many bloods and of diverse national origins, we stand before the world today as one people united in a common determination. That determination is to uphold the ideal of human society which makes conscience superior to brute strength—the ideal which would substitute freedom for force in the governments of the world.

*Radio address, October 11.*

### ***Roper, Daniel C.***

The individual freedom which we cherish for ourselves through self-government can be maintained only through a rule of reason, based on democratic cooperation.

*Radio address, July 5.*

### ***Seymour, Charles***

The duty of protecting freedom of thought and speech is the more compelling in these days when the liberal spirit in the world at large is in deadly peril.

*New Haven, Conn., October 8.*

### ***Thompson, Dorothy***

The problem of this generation is to find some way of reconciling Freedom with Order, of keeping the creative powers of the full personality and harmonizing them with the collective life which science and technology have made inevitable. The problem is to find a substitute for self-interest as a driving force in economic life.

*Troy, N. Y., June 7.*



# Individual Philosophy

## **Bailey, Josiah W.**

Set the precedent for a good purpose and it will be invoked for a thousand bad purposes.

*Radio address, February 13.*

## **Baldwin, Stanley**

Put your duty first and think about your rights afterward.

*London, May 18.*

## **Blum, Leon**

Every power in this world is paid for through the assumption of definite duties.

*Paris, May 7.*

## **Burgess, Gelett**

Poise, which is the advantage of age over youth, consists in conscious control, in knowing what you are doing, instead of doing something habitual. It allows you to use all your forces. It gives you style. In the terrific competition between youth and age, poise is a weapon without which age is lost. Youth has inexperience and charm; age has experience and poise.

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If every act of age is under conscious control it will be so informed by experience that its superior style will triumph over youthful charm.

*New York, November 9.*

### **Conant, James B.**

It is so easy to be tolerant in retrospect, so hard to be unmoved by the hatreds of the moment.

*Cambridge, Mass., June 20.*

### **Dodds, Harold W.**

Each one of us requires the spur of insecurity to force us to do our best. If you are to make anything of yourselves, you must be willing to face the risks of insecurity. In life, as in golf, the best rule for the masterful player is to play straight for the pin, scornful of hazards that may intervene.

*Princeton, N. J., June 20.*

### **Farley, James A.**

Frustrated greed carries more poison in its sack than any serpent that crawls upon the ground.

*Providence, R. I., August 29.*

### **Ford, Ford Madox**

People cannot be amiable with their fellows if they are not properly fed.

*New York, February 28.*

### **Ford, Henry**

If you eat right, sleep right, work right, the passing of the years makes little impression on your feelings . . . I want to be around as long as I am useful.

*Interview, July 29.*

## INDIVIDUAL PHILOSOPHY

### **Fosdick, Harry E.**

To see a truth which your generation fails to see; to believe in its coming victory even when you do not expect to live to witness it; and so to write it down as an appeal to unborn generations against the cynicism of your own time, displays strong character.

*New York, January 3.*

### **Gildersleeve, Virginia C.**

It is no longer necessary for a woman to choose between marriage and a career. Naturally, we expect a girl to marry and have a family, but it is a terrible thing to arrive at the age of 45 with nothing to do except to become a burden on your children. In order to make life more interesting for yourself and your family choose some kind of interest or career which does not necessarily bring remuneration.

*New York, February 16.*

### **Guffey, Joseph F.**

To my mind there is no greater mistake in public life than for a man to be disloyal to those who helped bring success to his career.

*Radio address, August 20.*

### **Hutchins, Robert M.**

Our people have little knowledge and much opinion.

*Chicago, October 9.*

### **Kettering, Charles F.**

If there had been letters of appraisal written on every New Year's Day through history they would all read the same: "I swear I don't know how on earth

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grandfather and great-grandfather got along on what they had, and now I don't know what else there is for me to do." To the unimaginative the world is always finished.

*Interview, published September 19.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

Women are less selfish, less ambitious, and always—always, mind you—do they respect a confidence.

*New York, January 27.*

### ***Lippmann, Walter***

It is of the essence of ignorance to be unable to realize the scope of one's own ignorance.

*Northampton, Mass., June 21.*

### ***Ludwig, Emil***

You must see a man's enemies in order to understand him.

*Interview, July 9.*

### ***MacCracken, Henry Noble***

It has been my experience that, of all hated things, youth hates most to be betrayed.

*New York, January 15.*

### ***MacLeod, Malcolm***

The shortness of human life is the ghost at the banquet of human thought. It haunts men amid their bustle and clatter. Of course, an empty life would seem long enough. If you want to make life slow, and that is the devil's work, there are plenty of people who can show you how.

*New York, January 10.*

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### ***Marston, William M.***

To be successful in the worldly sense you don't have to get up in the morning with that "go-getter" look in the eye and all the hokus-pokus that inspirational writers have been telling us about for years.

*Interview, November 10.*

### ***Peabody, Endicott***

Hate can never rid us of fear. If we have the feeling of kindness to others we are free, and life opens up all kinds of wonderful opportunities.

*Groton, Mass., January 17.*

### ***Robinson, Joseph T.***

There is, and there has been for more than fifty years, a feeling in the country among those who constitute its citizenship that men are not always conscious of the time when they have passed the climax of their usefulness. It is well illustrated in politics. One who has served long and well is seldom, if ever, conscious of his failing powers, and he keeps running for office. I have often thought that politics is not an occupation. It is a disease, and by the Eternal, when it gets in the blood and brain there is no cure for it.

*Washington, D. C., July 10.*

### ***Rockefeller, John D., Jr.***

Anything worth having must be paid for, in time, effort, money—often in sacrifice.

*Radio address, November 12.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

It is natural for people to be fearful of or antagonistic to things and places that they have never seen. I know



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a good many people who consider themselves national authorities on this subject or that who have never been west of the Mississippi, and some who have never been west of the Hudson. Yes, it pays to travel. We get a much bigger perspective and a lot of knowledge.

*Fargo, N. D., October 4.*

### ***Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.***

Most of us are creatures of circumstance, limited in the opportunities which come to us, and the only thing in life of which we may be justly proud is that we have not let those opportunities which have been given us slide. Life may be full of hardships, but it was really made to be enjoyed.

*Ithaca, N. Y., October 23.*

### ***Smoot, Reed***

There are many who work but forty hours a week and sleep eight or nine hours a day. That is a deplorable waste of a most precious resource—time. A person in perfect health can work ten, twelve, and even fourteen hours a day, and thrive on not more than six hours of sleep.

*Interview, January 12.*

### ***Thompson, Dorothy***

These swift and kaleidoscopic times may make life painful but they make it intense. They make it manifold. Great events are telescoped into short periods, and he who lives with his eyes open, his heart generous, and his mind free, has a richer than usual share of life. For one normal year of living he gets

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two or three, and if he dies at forty he may testify to having lived out a full life. To live in these times with the utmost appreciation and awareness is to live a great romance.

*Troy, N. Y., June 7.*



# Judiciary

## ***Benson, Elmer A.***

Progressive America stands helpless to enact needed social and economic reforms, while a reactionary Supreme Court has usurped autocratic powers never intended by the framers of the Constitution.

*St. Paul, Minn., January 5.*

## ***Black, Hugo L.***

Our constitution can only be preserved by leaving each department of government free to exercise the powers given it, and no more. A majority of our (Supreme Court) judges should not amend our Constitution according to their economic predilections every time they decide a case. By such action they block the orderly and necessary progress of the people and jeopardize our most sacred rights and liberties. Our democracy can work out its own problems within our Constitution if the rights of human beings as human beings are given first importance, and if our Constitution is not so misinterpreted and altered as to shackle the democratic processes themselves.

*Radio address, February 23.*

## ***Borah, William E.***

Faction and party zeal, debate and political ambitions cannot hold the scales of justice in impartial hands or

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weigh either the charges or the evidence with unresentful judgment. The most enlightened political leaders and the most advanced of governments have utterly failed to wisely administer justice without the aid of independent and incorruptible courts.

*Radio address, February 1.*

No kind of government has yet been devised—and both reason and experience teach none can be devised—which offers opportunity and insures liberty to the average man or woman which preserves the rights and privileges of those whom Lincoln called the common people, except a government of law with independent tribunals of justice. There is no such thing as security for the masses or protection for minority groups, political, racial, or religious, never has been, and in the nature of things never can be, under any form of government save government where the people through their representatives make the laws and uncontrolled courts construe them.

*Philadelphia, September 16.*

### **Burke, Edward S.**

That there is a widespread and growing disregard for law and order none will deny. It evidences itself in the illegal sit-down strike and many other ways. That this condition is due in no small measure to the unrestrained attacks upon our courts and the judicial process, will I believe, be the verdict of history.

*Boston, April 4.*

### **Clark, Bennett Champ**

In my judgment it would be better to have no judicial branch of the government at all than to have a pitiful shadow of one, subservient to either the Executive or the Congress, or both of them combined.

*New York, April 21.*

***Copeland, Royal S.***

History has rather clearly demonstrated that the success of a constitutional form of government depends upon the integrity and absolute independence of the judiciary.

*Radio address, February 28.*

***Crane, Frederick E.***

The law is a very elusive subject. Each judge in an Appellate Court has the same record before him, the same facts, reads the same cases and in the decision of the case all start at scratch. Yet when it comes to consultation the most amazing thing is to find how many different views there will be regarding the law and its application to the case.

*New York, January 29.*

***Cummings, Homer S.***

In our Federal courts the law's delays have become intolerable. Multitudes of cases have been pending from five to ten years. Rather than resort to the courts many persons submit to acts of injustice. Inability to secure a prompt judicial adjudication leads to improvident and unjust settlements. Moreover, the time factor is an open invitation to those who are disposed to institute unwarranted litigation or interpose unfounded defenses in the hope of forcing an adjustment which would not be secured upon the merits.

*Radio Address, February 14.*

The Federal judicial system is sound at heart and will stand every kind of inquiry and discussion, but those who mistakenly seek to preserve its faults and strive to perpetuate them are playing with fire—dangerously.

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Let us not forget that the law is the servant and not the master of human need. The character of members of the Supreme Court is vital to the permanence of American institutions—not their moral character alone, but also their intellectual stature, their vision, their outlook on life, their knowledge of history, their familiarity with present conditions and developing tendencies, their sympathetic understanding of human nature and its reactions.

*Washington, D. C., March 10.*

### ***Darrow, Clarence***

Just because a man is 75 or 80 does not mean that he is senile, and he may be incapable of judgment at a much younger age. Few of us are capable of judgment, just as few of us ever think, and few can ever mete out justice to our fellow men, no matter how sincerely we try. And to reconcile the law with justice and human progress is sometimes impossible.

*Interview, published April 18.*

### ***Dodds, Harold W.***

In recent years government has greatly extended its control over our daily lives and will probably continue to do so into the indefinite future. Let us see to it that it does so by constitutional methods. If the time has come to modify the constitutional position of the Supreme Court it should be done straightforwardly and in a constitutional manner, with proper opportunity for public opinion to find itself and express itself. Temporary maladjustments are no excuse for weakening an institution which, even hostile critics must admit, has so well protected the American people from the tyranny of public officials.

*Washington, D. C., March 24.*

**Earle, George H.**

The Supreme Court needs change. President Roosevelt is going to do it and the people are going to support him. I hope hereafter we can maintain not government by one Supreme Court justice who casts the deciding vote in 5-4 decisions, but government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." This we cannot do with the court as at present constituted.

*Springfield, Ill., February 11.*

**Glass, Carter**

With private property seized at will, the courts openly reviled, rebellion rampant against good order and peace of communities, with governments pleading with mobocracy instead of mastering it, we seem to have reached that period of peril which Governor Roosevelt visioned seven years ago. This, with other dangerous evils, contrived or connived at by government, is the real crisis which faces the nation and cannot be cured by degrading the Supreme Court of the United States.

*Radio address, March 29.*

**Hoover, Herbert**

If Mr. Roosevelt can change the Constitution to suit his purposes by adding to the members of the Court, any succeeding President can do it to suit his purposes. If a troop of President's judges can be sent into the halls of justice to capture political power, then his successor with the same device can also send a new troop of President's judges to capture some new power. That is not judicial process. That is force.

*Chicago, February 20.*

**Hopkins, Harry L.**

It is a plain fact at the present time that unless the



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complexion of the Supreme Court can be changed, two or three elderly judges, living in cloistered seclusion and thinking in terms of a bygone day, can block nearly all the efforts of a popularly elected Congress to correct these ills.

*Radio address, March 1.*

### ***Hughes, Charles Evans***

The success of democratic institutions lies in the success of the processes of reason as opposed to the tyranny of force. Between these society must choose. If society chooses the processes of reason, it must maintain the institutions which embody those processes. Institutions for the exercise of the law-making power and for the execution of laws must have their fitting complement in institutions for the interpretation and application of laws, for the safeguarding of individual rights, through a competent and independent judiciary. The firm and true administration of justice is thus the primary concern of civilized society. That administration must find its ultimate assurance, not in statutes or forms, but in the sentiment of a free people—themselves tolerant and reasonable, and keenly alive to the necessity of maintaining the instrumentalities for the impartial determination of controversies.

*Washington, D. C., May 6.*

### ***Ickes, Harold L.***

If the courts are to stand as the bulwark of our liberties and to have the prestige and strength necessary in times of chaos to protect human rights, the people must not have just cause to suspect them of frustrating the honest efforts of the community to meet its social and economic problems.

*Chicago, April 10.*

**Jackson, Robert H.**

The check on democracy must be found in the reasonableness and self-restraints of popular majorities and not in judicial decisions. Education will protect our rights and institutions better than litigation.

*Chapel Hill, N. C., October 12.*

**La Follette, Philip F.**

Nothing can more certainly destroy democratic government than to put it in a legal strait-jacket in a futile attempt to block the great forces of human progress.

*Radio address, February 27.*

**La Follette, Robert M.**

For the long future I am in favor of an amendment which would give the Congress power to override a decision of the (Supreme) Court declaring any act of Congress unconstitutional, so as to provide in future years a more certain mechanism of restraining arbitrary judicial action.

*Radio address, February 13.*

**La Guardia, Fiorello H.**

Constitutional lawyers haven't contributed a solitary thing toward solving the problems of this country. You can't feed a hungry man on judicial decisions.

*New York, June 6.*

**Lowden, Frank O.**

We have heard during the last few years members of the administration declare that we were in the midst of a revolution. We did not at the time take these words

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seriously. We looked upon them as nothing more than the ebullitions of youthful enthusiasm. Now, however, if the President's plan with reference to the Supreme Court should succeed, these words will have proven true words—and the revolution will be complete.

*Radio address, April 7.*

### ***Manning, William T.***

There can be no democracy, no constitutional government, without an independent judiciary. Our constitution and our courts are the protection of the rights and liberties of every man and woman, the protection of all of us against injustice and against arbitrary governmental action.

*New York, February 10.*

### ***McAdoo, William G.***

It may be said that no greater outrage can be committed upon the citizen who finds it necessary to take his case into the courts than to deprive him of justice by long and unnecessary delays, occasioned either by congested courts or by the technical tactics of clever lawyers, or by judges who have become incompetent and dull-witted, who sit for life and are not accountable to any authority. Every officer and employee of the United States Government, with the exception of the life-holding judges, is subject either to recall by the people in elections held at stated intervals or to removal through the Executive power of removal.

*Radio address, February 16.*

### ***McKellar, Kenneth D.***

I am a strong believer in courts. I believe in the Federal courts. I think in the main they have done their

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duty as they see it. On the other hand, I do not believe they are infallible. I think our Supreme Court, perhaps the greatest court in all the world, has made a number of mistakes.

*Washington, D. C., February 17.*

### **Minton, Sherman**

Under our system of government, as it now operates, five men on the Supreme Court have an absolute veto power over legislative powers of the people's elected representatives. Five men on that court exercise more power than 435 Congressmen, 96 Senators, and the President, and that in a field where they have no restraint except that imposed by their own consciences.

*Radio address, February 15.*

### **Moley, Raymond**

I would rather amend, amend, amend, the Constitution than pack, pack, pack, the Supreme Court.

*Washington, D. C., March 24.*

### **Norris, George W.**

Judges are human. They carry prejudices to the bench and retain them there. Being human, they make mistakes, and the mistakes made by men in their position burden the nation for generations afterward. It has happened more than once in our history. When five such men, elected by nobody and responsible to nobody, can repeatedly nullify the efforts of the elected and responsible representatives of the people to rescue the country from wreck, the result is disastrous to industry, to agriculture, to finance, to the workers and the unemployed, and to every citizen, rich or poor. That situation a democracy cannot tolerate.

*Interview, published May 30.*

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### ***Richberg, Donald R.***

The prevailing public opinion, the primary source of law in a democracy, is already expressed in the Constitution. The correct interpretation of that constitutional statement of law should be a consistent expression of that public opinion—not the discordant, individual opinions of men officially selected to interpret and apply the law.

*Dayton, Ohio, January 9.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

I want—as all Americans want—an independent judiciary as proposed by the framers of the Constitution. That means a Supreme Court that will enforce the Constitution as written—that will refuse to amend the Constitution by the arbitrary exercise of judicial power—amendment by judicial say-so. It does not mean a judiciary so independent that it can deny the existence of facts universally recognized. During the past half century the balance of power between the three great branches of the Federal Government has been tipped out of balance by the courts in direct contradiction of the high purposes of the framers of the Constitution. It is my purpose to restore that balance. You who know me will accept my solemn assurance that in a world in which democracy is under attack I seek to make American democracy succeed.

*Radio address, March 9.*

### ***Taft, Henry W.***

The President proposes that Congress shall, by the exercise of a constitutional power in determining the number of Supreme Court justices, use that power for the indirect purpose of procuring the reversal of decisions of the present Supreme Court by judges selected

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by the President and confirmed by the Senate for that particular purpose. No more far-reaching exercise of the power of the legislative and the executive departments, or more in violation of the spirit of our institutions, was ever sought to be put into effective operation.

*Washington, D. C., April 29.*

### ***Van Devanter, Willis***

The people of the country have been greatly benefited and blessed by the Constitution, and I don't think they are going to give it up. They cannot well do so without surrendering many of the liberties and advantages they have under it. The Supreme Court, as established by the Constitution, is indispensable under our system and form of government.

*Interview, July 6.*

### ***Wallace, Henry A.***

It would seem to me that if the President's proposal were adopted there would be a higher percentage of men on the Court who would interpret the Constitution as a living document designed to serve the general welfare and not designed to block progress.

*Washington, D. C., February 17.*

### ***Wheeler, Burton K.***

Senator Bone and I have introduced a constitutional amendment providing that in the event the Supreme Court declares a law of Congress unconstitutional, that after an election intervening, the Congress may re-pass that legislation and it will become law notwithstanding the Court's decision. In other words, we desire to give the people of this country a chance to have the final say through their elected representatives as to

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what legislation they in their wisdom desire. There can be no more democratic way than this.

*Chicago, March 10.*

Create now a political court to echo the ideas of the Executive and you have created a weapon—a weapon which in the hands of another President could well be an instrument of destruction; a weapon that can cut down those guarantees of liberty written into your great doctrine by the blood of your forefathers and that can extinguish your right of liberty of speech, of thought, of action and of religion; a weapon whose use is only dictated by the conscience of the wielder.

*Chicago, March 10.*

# Labor

## ***Baldwin, Stanley***

What is the alternative to collective bargaining? There is none except anarchy. Another alternative is force, but we may rule out force in this country (Britain) and I would lay it down that, as long as the industrial system remains as it is, collective bargaining is the right thing.

*London, May 5.*

## ***Barton, Bruce***

In the voice and spirit of Paul (the Government) should say to the capitalists, "Except ye abide in the ship we shall all perish." To labor, "Except ye abide in the ship we shall all perish." To the farmer and the labor union and to every group, "You can't make yourself safe by thinking first of your own safety. We are in a situation where only united effort and a common sacrifice will save. We shall all go up or down together. Except we all—rich or poor, capitalist and worker, farmer and city man—all of us abide in the ship and do our share we shall all of us perish."

*New York, October 4.*

## ***Baruch, Bernard M.***

The world does not owe every man a living. The



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world is a place in which every man can make a living but to make it he must first fit himself and then fight.

*Charleston, S. C., May 29.*

### ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

It is an illusion to assert that all wealth is produced by labor alone. A cursory reading of history and observation of any uncivilized tribe, whether ancient or modern, should dispel this illusion at once. Mere labor may gain a livelihood but little or nothing more. It is intelligence which produces wealth.

*Southampton, N. Y., September 5.*

### ***Cameron, William J.***

The philosophy of "taking everything" whether practiced by management or labor, or by both together, or by government tax collectors, results in nobody's getting anything.

*Radio address, April 4.*

### ***Catt, Carrie Chapman***

Men workers exercise a vast power over raw materials and manufactures in the industrial world. They go on strike by threats to interrupt the daily procedure of business and thus secure concessions. But women, while sometimes joining in men's strikes and sometimes venturing in those of their own, are not employed in such numbers as to compel similar concessions.

*Interview, January 8.*

### ***Comstock, Louis K.***

John L. Lewis has set out on a road the end of which—if traveled to the end—means that every plant in the United States will be sovietized, a road that is

the antithesis of industrial freedom. What stand is the employer going to take? That employer is as blind as a sphinx who today fails to recognize that if he refuses to give his employees everything to which they are justly entitled under the American system of collective bargaining—fair wages, voluntary pension plans, stock ownership plans, and the development of projects for the physical protection and recreation of employees, there will follow a change which he will not like.

*New York, February 2.*

### ***Coughlin, Charles E.***

The sins of modern capitalism have been the breeding ground for communism. Had the owners of industry the sagacity to pay a living, annual wage, to discard their false principles of producing only for a profit, the present predicament would have been avoided.

*Radio address, January 31.*

### ***Farley, James A***

While I haven't the statistics at hand, I believe we own more homes, as a nation, than any other country on the face of the earth. That means that there are payments to be met regularly and the ordinary daily obligations of living to be kept up. Such obligations will not permit us to indulge in lengthy labor rows or to engage in long drawn out labor controversies. There are too many homeowners in this country for us to stand in fear of permanent unrest.

*Interview, August 21.*

### ***Ford, Henry***

A man loses his independence when he joins a labor group of any kind and he suffers as a result. Competi-

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tion in industry will guarantee workers a fair wage, but labor unions destroy this competition. International financiers are behind the labor unions because they want to control industry and kill competition. They are the cause of all these strikes. I am thoroughly convinced that the cure for strikes and other labor difficulties is a high minimum wage. It is the less skilled man, working on the smaller wage scale, who causes trouble when his income is insufficient for his family needs. Merit, skill and ability take care of the salaries of the higher paid men.

*Interview, February 19.*

Every movement to cut wages or to prevent wages going up is a blow at the market by which industry must live. The higher wage enables men to buy things that start many more men to work.

*Interview, July 29.*

If an employer pays his men less than they earn, he lays himself liable to anything that may happen to him. The first thing that happens is that he gets poor work and a poor product and loses his business. There are no exceptions to that rule. Any pressure that is put upon him to make him pay proper wages may be his salvation—if it compels him to find a way to do it. Most employers of this type have no ability to find a way. But to assume that all industry is of this backward character, and that all of it needs this pressure, betrays ignorance of the facts.

*Interview, published October 17.*

### **Fosdick, Harry E.**

Whatever may be the details of the struggle of American laboring men for a larger share in the products of industry, and whatever the rights and wrongs of the

present troubled scene, it is a safe affirmation, backed by long history, that a century from now it will be clear that the laboring man was right about the main matters. That is, he was not receiving a just share of the products of industry, and he had a right to collective bargaining on a scale that was denied him. Again, the truth is not that the privileged fail in estimating this situation because they are bad, and the laboring men see it more truly because they are good. The truth is that it is the man who is being hurt who feels where the shoe pinches.

*New York, February 21.*

***Girdler, Tom M.***

There still exist certain fundamental, recognized, civil rights: the right to free speech, to a free press, to a free assembly. These are all without substance unless coupled with the right to work, free from coercive influence.

*Washington, D. C., June 24.*

***Green, William***

The American Federation of Labor upholds the American form of government. It respects private property. It seeks a relationship between labor and management beneficial to both. It has proven its responsibility. It respects contracts. It condemns sit-down strikes. It does not resort to strikes until all peaceful methods have failed, and then only after a majority of the workers affected vote to strike. It resists subversive forces. It has been, and remains, the strongest bulwark in the nation against the invasion of communism, fascism, or any other foreignism.

*Radio address, October 4.*

***Guffey, Joseph F.***

Industrial unionism has proved a definite success in

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industrial America. Its record of some eighteen months' activity would seem to justify the conclusion that it is the answer to organization of the mass-production industries.

*Radio address, August 24.*

### **Harrison, Pat**

I want reasonable wages. I want employees to get as much as they can—just as much as the industry will bear. But on the other hand, I am not willing to destroy any business, large or small, by legislative mandate.

*Washington, D. C., July 30.*

### **High, Stanley**

The main purpose of our economic order is to create personality values. In the past we have said that the main purpose was to create material values, but we are coming into a time when we will ask of our economic order that it make personality values first, on the assumption that whatever is good for people will, in the end, be good for property. I am as willing as any one to throw up my hat and shout about property values, but I insist that those with whom I shout about property join with me in shouting about some other things; about child labor, and sweatshops, and maximum hours and minimum wages.

*Chapel Hill, N. C., March 28.*

### **Hoffman, Harold G.**

To hold a factory for ransom by the process of a sit-down strike is to refuse reason and law. Older and more firmly established organization practice has made great strides without recourse to this un-American course of action. The most valuable of human rights

is the right to earn, to own and to enjoy property. You cannot weaken or ignore property right in America without destroying the personal and human rights of the worker himself. No issue can be of sufficient importance to be worth the cancellation of this right, which has been won after centuries of conflict. To abrogate it now, for any reason, would be to start mankind marching backward toward that past when freedom was only a hope.

*Radio address, February 22.*

A labor union has no more right to take possession of a factory than a band of gangsters has to take possession of a bank. And when to such unlawful taking of possession there is added the theft and destruction of property, and the use or threat of violence and armed resistance to governmental authority, there is no difference between the two, either in principle or in degree.

*New York, July 20.*

## ***Hopkins, Harry L.***

It may be theoretically possible that unemployment some day may no longer have a place in our economic picture. But that day won't happen in your lifetime or mine. Unemployment has an economic as well as a human aspect. Beyond what we owe to the unemployed as a group, we owe it to our national economy to make the maximum use of the energies which millions of unemployed are now compelled to waste. The American nation cannot go forward to the heights of economic well being on which it has a right to live unless its man power is used. The conservation of our human resources should be our guiding principle. It is of greater importance, even, than the conservation of our physical resources.

*Interview, published May 23.*

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### ***Hoving, Walter***

Never work for a boss who is trying to get something out of you. As soon as you find out your boss is a boob, go somewhere else.

*New York, April 6.*

### ***Ickes, Harold L.***

The term "civil service" does not of itself guarantee faithful performance of duty in the public interest. There should be no sit down life tenure of office merely because the government is the employer and the shirker has managed to pass a competitive examination. The first test should not be the final one. There should be periodical appraisals of the services as well as in-service training of employees. Whether under a competitive or a spoils system, however, the effectiveness of personal administration will always depend on the stamina of supervisory officers.

*New York, January 14.*

### ***Jackson, Robert H.***

We owe it to every enlightened employer of labor in our state, as well as to every laborer, to see that they do not have to face in the market place goods made by the semi-slave labor of the child not yet its master, or the sweated needy person.

*Jamestown, N. Y., August 24.*

### ***Johnson, Hiram***

The most ominous thing in our national economic life today is the sit-down strike. It is bad for the government and in the long run it is worse for labor. If the sit-down strike is carried on with connivance or

the sympathy of the public authorities, then the warning signals are out, and down that road lurks dictatorship.

*Washington, D. C., March 17.*

**Johnson, Hugh S.**

The unprecedented assumption by the Federal government of a responsibility for local unemployment and local relief in all circumstances has no warrant whatever in anything in American constitutional law or traditions of institutions. It is one of the most powerful, far-reaching, vicious, and subversive departures from our recent history.

*New York, November 10.*

**Knudsen, William S.**

American workers have been brought up with the tradition that independence is inherently theirs. They resent anything that makes it appear that they are being patronized. This doesn't mean that a corporation shouldn't provide recreational facilities for its men and women and shouldn't encourage sports events and other non-business activities. No attempt should be made, however, to influence the private lives of employees. The policy should be to put as much as possible into the pay envelopes and let the workers do what they want with their money.

*Interview, published May 16.*

I think there is a place in the picture for both capital and labor, and that place can best be determined by an examination into the economics of both sides. I think that labor's fair share in the proceeds of business should be determined by what the pay envelope buys, and that the relationship of costs to prices should be



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examined before a false money standard per day or per annum is proposed.

*Boston, October 28.*

### ***Koht, Halvdan***

It is to us in Europe a little strange that the American Federation of Labor and all American labor organizations have not come into real politics, combining their trade union policies with political demands. But I am sure it will come eventually.

*Interview, November 6.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

The only way American industry can have stability is for the American workers to have security. The two go along together. As soon as a way can be found for obtaining security for the American workers there can be no question as to the stability of American industry.

*New York, August 23.*

No matter how sympathetic a Mayor may be to the cause of labor, it is extremely difficult to improve labor conditions as long as there is a split within the ranks of organized labor. Just as soon as we have been relieved by the settling of a given labor dispute, invariably we are confronted with the fact that another group of organized labor has started a strike in the very same industry or, perhaps, in the very same shop. To see one group of organized labor strike against an employer who has just settled with another group of organized labor is not only unsatisfactory, but is most discouraging.

*Washington, D. C., November 15.*

**Lehman, Herbert H.**

I do not believe I am too optimistic when I express the hope that in the coming years employers will realize that it is to their own advantage to initiate and sponsor legislation for the protection of their workers.

*Albany, January 1.*

Industrial peace and public order have long been troubled by the labor spy. He has often operated as the left hand of so-called private detective agencies. A recent United States Senate investigation has disclosed the lawless attitude of these organizations and their contempt even for Federal authority. Their services have stirred up dissension and violence in industry. They have bored into labor organizations and hamstrung effective functioning. They have recruited the most irresponsible types of men, professional thugs and criminals, and hired them out to employers as strike-breakers. These organizations should be subjected to the strictest control; certain of their activities should be completely prohibited.

*Albany, January 6.*

Regulation of child workers properly comes under the province of the Federal Government. The children of the state that permits exploitation are, nevertheless, children of America. The future of our nation depends more than all else upon the development of healthy, vigorous, intelligent children, not merely in a few states, but in every one of the forty-eight states.

*Radio address, March 5.*

**Lewis, John L.**

If we can establish industrial democracy in the United States, we can insure the continuance of its political democracy.

*New York, March 15.*

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Labor wants the right to organize. It wants the right to participate through collective bargaining in the increased productive efficiency of modern industry; to benefit and not to suffer through the improvements of our inventors and our technological experts. It demands as its legal as well as its moral right freedom, freedom in political expression, which in many cases has heretofore been restricted. Political action by organized labor is increasingly necessary to safeguard the rights and principles of industrial democracy, and also to secure legislative and even constitutional sanctions for its economic program. We have got to recognize the fact that the rights of those who work for a living are equal to those who profit from the labor of those who do the work.

*Interview, published March 21.*

Unionization as opposed to communism presupposes the relationship of employment. It is based upon the wage system and it recognizes fully and unreservedly the institution of private property and the right to investment profits . . . The organized workers of America, free in their industrial life, conscious partners in production, secure in their homes and enjoying a decent standard of living, will prove the finest bulwark against intrusion of alien doctrines of government.

*Radio address, September 3.*

Strong men don't need unions. They can look after themselves. It's the average man, the fellow who has not been blessed by some special gift of personality or ability, who needs organization to help and protect him. And if the strong do not need unions, the unions need them, and the strong owe it to themselves to lend a hand to the weaker fellow.

*Interview, published October 24.*

***Lilienthal, David E.***

I have long thought that one of the great difficulties in relations between management and workmen in large enterprises has been that management has completely lost contact with the human beings who really make the machine go . . . No amount of skill in administration and no perfection of organization can take the place of human understanding, and human understanding means that we have got to keep in touch on a man-to-man basis with each other.

*Chattanooga, Tenn., July 5.*

***Martin, Homer***

The real threat to the welfare of the people of this country is the threat of social and economic insecurity. There can be no real danger to the public welfare from labor organized, labor recognized, labor educated, labor protected, labor given a just share of what it produces.

*New York, October 5.*

***McGrady, Edward F.***

If labor is given the right to organize freely and the right to bargain through representatives of its own choosing on wages, hours, and working conditions, it will have to assume the responsibility of discipline among its members, sacredness of contract, efficiency of production, and elimination of waste—out of which is bound to develop an intelligent and cooperative spirit.

*Radio address, March 29.*

I predict that the world's working men and women will not forever be content to stand by while civilized

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living is being sacrificed on the altar of armaments, nor longer be willing to forge a means of their own destruction.

*Geneva, Switzerland, June 10.*

### **Murphy, Frank**

We have got to devise better and more practical means of mediation without compulsion, and the solution will come when the vast public appreciates that the public interest is supreme and that it overshadows the interests of either party. Democratic institutions must not be surrendered and we must not destroy fundamental rights, such as the right to strike and the right to private property.

*New York, February 13.*

Bloodshed may be laid at the door of one party (to industrial disputes) or it may be the fault of both. Whatever the case, intelligence and reason demand that those whose actions or words may have precipitated the crisis alter their ways to guard against it. In short, the interests of the parties as well as of the innocent public will best be served by a willingness to sit with an honest and law abiding adversary at a conference table, and to place faith in his sincerity and integrity of purpose.

*Detroit, March 21.*

If labor and capital become effectively organized, it may be necessary for public authority to assert itself in a positive manner to protect the consumer.

*Indianapolis, May 28.*

### **Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

I am confident that this nation of ours has the genius to reorder its affairs, and possesses the physical re-

sources to make it possible for every one, young or old, to enjoy the opportunity to work and earn . . . The inherent right to work is one of the elemental privileges of a free people. Continued failure to achieve that right and privilege by anyone who wants to work and needs work is a challenge to our civilization and to our security.

*Radio address, November 14.*

### ***Roper, Daniel C.***

Any sit-down strike that undertakes to take over personal property is a very serious and fundamental thing, and in my opinion will not be long endured by the courts. This is my personal answer and I am not speaking as an officer of the administration.

*Interview, February 24.*

Labor has cast its influence on the side of progressive social legislation and sound Americanism. It must likewise stamp out ruthless racketeering from its ranks. Both industry and labor need to recognize that the public, including the consumer, will not stand for coercion or intimidation in any form or fashion. It is not democratic and hence not consistent with safeguards of our heritage and ideals of freedom and justice.

*Radio address, July 5.*

### ***Shaw, George Bernard***

Everybody ought to be living quite comfortably by working four and five hours a day with two Sundays in the week, yet millions of laborers die in the work-house or on the dole after sixty years of hard toil so that a few babies may have hundreds of thousands of dollars before they are born.

*Radio address, November 2.*

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### ***Sibley, Harper***

One conviction seems clear to business management, and that is that wherever, through collective bargaining, representatives are chosen by employees, there can be no assurance that covenants mutually binding will be honored by both parties until the leaders of labor are held responsible for their acts as fully as management is today.

*Milwaukee, February 16.*

### ***Thomas, Norman***

Of themselves, even the best unions are not enough. There must also be organization of the workers for political action. No processes of collective bargaining, important as they are, can of themselves provide us with plenty, peace and freedom while absentee owners control the means of production and distribution and operate them for private profit. They will always be able to absorb at least the larger part of any wage gains in price increases.

*Chicago, March 25.*

### ***Untermeyer, Samuel***

The President evidently believes—and I share his belief—that our capitalistic system is at stake, and that the legislation which has been rejected by the Court is essential to its preservation. A way must unquestionably be found whereby labor can secure a more just share of the wealth it creates.

*Interview, March 9.*

### ***Vandenberg, Arthur H.***

Capital is not entitled to be above the law. No more is labor entitled to be above the law. In the long run

labor will suffer more than any other American group from any desertion of the law and its defense of civil liberties. Illegal trespass cannot be condoned at any time or in any place, no matter who the trespasser may be.

*Washington, D. C., March 19.*

In the final analysis the prosperity of the nation, the provision of jobs for its workers, does not rely upon statutory formula. It relies upon the genius and ability and capacity of American business itself to provide the jobs. I sometimes wonder how American business is going to find any time left to provide jobs if we are to persist in loading upon it these everlastingly multiplying governmental mandates and delivering it to the mercies of multiplying and hampering federal bureaucracy.

*Washington, D. C., July 28.*

I believe that capitalism ultimately belongs on a rational basis of direct and equitable profit-sharing, encouraged by tax exemptions and rewards for forward-looking social-minded employers. But jobs, like wealth, must exist before they can be shared. Business must succeed before its employees can benefit.

*New York, October 5.*

### **Wagner, Robert F.**

Since the turn of the century there has come to us a growing realization that our temple of political liberty—if it is to stand—must be reinforced with the steel girders of economic and social justice. One by one we have accepted and made our own the concepts that the injured worker shall be compensated by the industry he serves; that the physical well-being of working women shall be conserved for the rearing of their



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children; that boys and girls shall have a chance to play in the fresh air and to go to school; that fair profits, steady business and decent wages are mutually interdependent; that industrial peace cannot endure without industrial freedom; and that the hazards of unemployment and old age must be driven away by systematic forms of social security.

*New York, February 4.*

The first obligation of labor, in so far as possible, is to resort to the law rather than to force for the protection of its rights. If labor wants majority rule it should be willing to abide by majority rule.

*Radio address, June 25.*

### ***Young, Owen D.***

Youth, and particularly unoccupied youth, is attracted to adventure which offers currently in the form of labor picketing and radical dreams. It is only natural, when they find themselves apparently unwanted in the world as it now exists.

*New York, May 27.*

# Literature

## ***Adams, J. Donald***

The literary world today contains too many adolescents. Most of the world's great novels were written by men and women who had reached at least 40 years of age.

*New York, November 9.*

## ***Buck, Pearl***

No writer feels he has finished with a book when he has written it. He wants it read. He wants an answer from the people—even if the answer may be painful to hear.

*New York, November 5.*

## ***Canby, Henry Seidel***

You hear men say that they have no time to read. Well, what have they to do of half the conceivable importance of reading?

*New York, November 15.*

## ***Coffin, Robert P. T.***

The poet need not be a Delphic oracle but should write from the level of ordinary living. The truest poems may be found in very ordinary places. When

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I began to write poetry I had the mistaken idea that a poet must always be on the mountain top. Only in maturity did I learn to come down upon the plain and choose for my poems the simple subjects of every day.

*New York, November 14.*

### ***Cross, Wilbur L.***

The man who builds his mind slowly upon the literature and philosophy of ancient Greece and Rome, builds well. The world can offer nothing better.

*Kent, Conn., June 10.*

### ***Hurst, Fannie***

Certainly there are sufficient books already written and to be written that appeal to men. So I ask why a nation of alert men, so active in the external struggle for existence, does not give more to the internal struggle for mental existence. I am tired of attending lectures, operas, book fairs, and other celebrations of the mind, and finding a preponderance of the charming faces of women.

*New York, November 15.*

### ***Johnson, Alvin***

If it is a really good book it encloses the reader like a Virgilian hero within an opaque mist, excluding for the time all social contacts whatsoever . . . The book contains within its covers the civilization of the future.

*New York, June 26.*

### ***Kantor, MacKinlay***

A writer lives by his understanding and emotions, and the most terrible thing that he must do is to confront

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his inner self, looking at him with bared teeth across a typewriter. You have to be born that way to go on with it. Writers live most of their lives in misery because their own gargoyle self is looking at them thousands of days and nights.

*New York, November 11.*

### **Malone, Dumas**

Works of the imagination do not often emanate from universities . . . The trouble with scholars has often been that they have written for one another and for no one else.

*New York, November 12.*

### **Mencken, Henry L.**

Gertrude Stein is a quack. She has no ideas and she can't express 'em.

*New York, October 20.*

### **Phelps, William Lyon**

If I were sure that the next World War would produce as much good literature as the Trojan War, I would take personal responsibility for starting it.

*Madison, N. J., June 8.*

Poetry is always true where science is never true. By that I mean a good work of poetry written two thousand years ago remains true, but a scientific work written twenty years ago is as out of date as an almanac of the same vintage.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., June 10.*

### **Sandburg, Carl**

With all its faults, the literature of today is a vast advance on what I knew as a boy.

*Interview, January 16.*

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### ***Wallace, Henry A.***

In the United States the most powerful novel of the (20th) century, not from an artistic point of view but from a social point of view, is Upton Sinclair's "Jungle." From this book came much of the packing inspection and pure food work in which the Department of Agriculture engages to protect the American public.

*New York, November 4.*

# Medicine

## ***Barnes, E. W.***

I cannot think it right to keep alive individuals whom doctors know to be doomed from birth to a sub-human existence. False humanitarianism is at the present time a definite drag on social progress.

*Oxford, England, March 7.*

## ***Carrel, Alexis***

Is it not more important to improve man than the goods consumed by him? Are health and comfort of any value if we become mentally and spiritually worthless? Those who have given their lives to the search for the prevention and cure of disease are keenly disappointed in observing that their efforts have resulted in a large number of healthy defectives, healthy lunatics, and healthy criminals, and in no progress of man. As far as I am concerned I intend to devote the rest of my life to the problem of developing man in his organic and spiritual entirety. For the quality of life is more important than life itself. We must now use theoretical and applied science, not for the satisfaction of curiosity, but for the betterment of the self and for the construction of truly civilized man.

*Hanover, N. H., October 11.*

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### ***Cullis, Winifred***

Health is something more than absence of disease. It is a condition of the body which gives zest and joy to living.

*Nottingham, England, September 7.*

### ***Heyd, Charles G.***

Patients have an inalienable right to choose their own doctors. The outstanding defect of voluntary or compulsory health insurance is that it divides the practice of medicine into a class practice. There is created a sub-standard type of medical service for those in the lower economic brackets—a brief visit to the doctor, an inadequate, scant, history, and a prescription or the dispensing of a bottle of medicine.

*New York, January 23.*

Medical care is a problem not alien to the purpose of government, for the health of its citizens must be the paramount concern of the State . . . It is not compulsory health insurance or State medicine that will destroy free and competitive medical practice—it is an extension of institutional medicine for which the State will provide the funds.

*Atlantic City, June 7.*

### ***Kendall, James E.***

I believe that within the next ten or fifteen years drinking of heavy water by those who have passed 60, as a means of prolonging the "reward years" of life, will be a commonplace. The person drinking heavy water would be living only half as fast as a person drinking ordinary water. The heavy water drinker's reactions would probably be slowed, and possibly his

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mental processes also, but who wants to be fast at 60?

*Interview, March 30.*

### **Lockhart, L. P.**

Much of the neuroses that damage large communities and render individuals inefficient, below standard in health, or anti-social in behavior, arises from the physiologically unbalanced lives they are forced to lead.

*Nottingham, England, September 7.*

### **Menninger, Karl A.**

Physics overlaps chemistry and both overlap psychology in our study of disease, but the laws of one are not the laws of the other in our present state of knowledge. The time may come when we may describe in a single mathematical language a stone in the kidney, an antitoxin in the blood stream, and the reactions of a child to seeing its mother strangled.

*New York, November 5.*

### **Miller, James A.**

We are gradually coming to appreciate that a study of the living, working, and economic conditions with which our patients are surrounded often illumines difficult clinical pictures and may point the way toward proper and adequate treatment.

*New York, January 7.*

### **Pearce, Charles M.**

Syphilis can be eradicated or controlled much easier than small pox, diphtheria, or typhoid fever, and complete control could be forecast in our generation if all cases were put under treatment.

*Tulsa, Okla., April 28.*



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### ***Rice, John L.***

The medical profession must prepare to play an increasingly important part in the rapidly expanding field of community health. It must see a vision far beyond individual needs and problems and must integrate public health needs into its outlook. In the past, medical men have focused their attention so sharply on individual problems that they have failed to see the community needs.

*Ithaca, N. Y., June 16.*

### ***Thacher, Thomas D.***

If the medical profession stands against the extension of facilities necessary in the public interest, it will inevitably be regarded as influenced by selfish professional motives.

*New York, January 7.*

### ***Wilbur, Ray Lyman***

When every American family sees that the children in each generation are taught the truth about syphilis and gonorrhea, how to avoid them and what to do if infected, we shall no longer see our young manhood and womanhood their chief victims.

*New York, February 3.*

# Music

## ***Damrosch, Walter***

America is going to become one of the greatest musical countries of the world—thanks to radio.

*Interview, January 28.*

## ***Franko, Sam***

I don't think there is any violinist today who can compare with Joachim as a chamber music player, or with Wieniawski as a virtuoso. In the old days all important violinists were also composers of note, which is one fact that goes to prove their superiority over their followers of the present time.

*Interview, January 16.*

## ***Iturbi, Jose***

I am glad to have women play and sing, because it gives them a change from their domestic life. But their efforts, while often praiseworthy and occasionally reaching real artistry, never achieve greatness.

*Interview, published February 4.*

## ***Koussevitzky, Serge***

I often wonder if the public realizes the part they play. The contact with the audience—that is as vital to the

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success of an orchestral performance as it is to an individual musician, actor or speaker. This contact, I believe, is of equal importance to the audience. To listen eagerly in company with other listeners is a rich experience; the waves of attentive sympathy which travel through an interested audience create an almost electric effect upon both hearer and performer. These currents the conductor has to set in motion. When he succeeds in establishing the contact, a good performance is assured.

*Interview, published July 25.*

While there are thousands of (orchestra) conductors all over the world, only about a hundred or so are capable, and only four or five truly great.

*Interview, published August 8.*

### ***Phelps, William Lyon***

I think some of the symphonies of great composers played by a fine orchestra are perfect, but I have never lost my love for a good brass band or fife-and-drum corps.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., June 10.*

### ***Raudenbush, George A.***

Opportunity for young aspiring American conductors abound in every state (of the United States).

*Interview, published August 1.*

### ***Reiner, Fritz***

American music of the popular type has conquered the world, and radio has been in no small measure responsible for this . . . Few Europeans can compose or even play jazz although they like it, and they have all tried. There is something in it which eludes them.

*Interview, published August 1.*

***Smith, Carleton Sprague***

Folk music is of the countryside, expressing the spirit of the rural people. We must not forget, however, that Tin Pan Alley music has a definite place in our musical expression. It is music of the cities. It is appropriate music.

*Princeton, N. J., May 4.*

***Sokoloff, Nikolai***

Classical music needs no dressing up. Dance-band arrangements of classical numbers will certainly not improve our consciousness of good music. Millions in this country are yearning for fine music.

*Chattanooga, Tenn., September 12.*

***Welch, Roy D.***

Piano or violin lessons are an unutterable bore to most children and a waste of time and money. Parents themselves must show interest in music, rather than merely driving their children onward . . . My advice to parents is for them to do something about music themselves, to play the piano or an instrument, before suggesting it to the child. For the youngsters will say to themselves, "If it is good enough for me, why isn't it good for you?"

*New York, February 27.*



# People

## ***Astor, Lady***

I am a pro-Jew and have always been a Zionist.

*Interview, June 30.*

## ***Baird, William J.***

If to be educated one must be able to read Greek and Latin, must have traveled in foreign countries, have completed a curriculum and have conferred on one degrees by formally organized institutions of learning, Lincoln was not educated. If we grant that the ability to adapt one's self to one's environment, to understand the life and habits of the people with whom and for whom one works, to know the history and purposes of one's nation, to know the currents and philosophies of government that have influenced nations, to understand the changes that have destroyed them and preserved them; if to have conferred on one the titles of "Honest Abe," "The Man of the People," "The Hero of the Hour," "Emancipator,"—if these are the marks of an educated man, Lincoln was educated.

*New York, February 12.*

## ***Black, Hugo L.***

I did join the Klan. I later resigned. I never re-joined . . . I never have considered and I do not now

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consider the unsolicited card given to me shortly after my nomination to the Senate as a membership of any kind in the Ku Klux Klan. I never used it. I did not even keep it. Before becoming a Senator I dropped the Klan. I have had nothing whatever to do with it since that time. I abandoned it. I completely discontinued any association with the organization. I have never resumed it and never expect to do so.

*Radio address, October 1.*

### **Booth, Evangeline**

I am not a pacifist. I claim that I am today the most incorrigible militarist alive on this planet. But I see no sense in fighting the wrong enemies, and I see no sense in fighting sham fights.

*Interview, published November 14.*

### **Butler, Nicholas Murray**

Karl Marx, with all his limitations and shortcomings, was the possessor of an acute intellect.

*Southampton, N. Y., September 5.*

History will confirm the judgment of Lord Bryce that Root was the greatest Secretary of State in the history of the American nation . . . Of our Secretaries of War he was easily the most distinguished.

*New York, November 12.*

### **Byrd, Richard E.**

I'll devote the rest of my life to the interest of peace.

*Interview, January 21.*

### **Chamberlain, Neville**

Many comparisons have been made between Baldwin and other great Prime Ministers. For my part I have

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often thought that, making all due allowance for differences of education and upbringing and country, he comes nearest to Abraham Lincoln.

*London, May 31.*

In Mr. Eden we have a statesman who combines all the energy and vitality of youth with unrivaled experience of men and affairs in all parts of the world.

*Scarborough, England, October 8.*

No British statesman of his time had a wider personal knowledge of international figures than Mr. MacDonald (Ramsay MacDonald).

*London, November 10.*

### **Goebbels, Joseph Paul**

The Germany that bears his name will be great and strong. Its people will learn once again to feel themselves a world people and act accordingly. Our children and our children's children will find in the Reich a home that stands in the universe, a strength that protects our lives, our racial character, and our labor. From the whole Reich and from all German hearts in all continents, in foreign lands and on the seas, there rise today gratitude and praise for him a millionfold. May he remain for us what he has ever been—our Hitler.

*Radio address, April 19.*

### **Hague, Frank**

I am the law.

*Jersey City, N. J., November 10.*

### **Hitler, Adolf**

I do not have to assure you that the man who rose from an unknown soldier in the World War to the



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rank of Fuehrer of a nation will also succeed in solving the problems of the future.

*Berlin, February 20.*

Our guest (Benito Mussolini) is one of the lonely men in history, who are not put to trial by historic events but who determine the history of their country themselves.

*Berlin, September 28.*

### ***Holmes, John Haynes***

I have little confidence, and I say it with all respect and deference, that Roosevelt is the type of man who can resist to the utmost. In a time of crisis I think he will be the first to go. I believe him to have been absolutely sincere when he said, "I hate war," but it is necessary to do more than hate war. He has gone in for preparedness that is matched only by the armed dictators of Europe. You have to not only hate war, but hate the things that make war. I have seen no evidence that Roosevelt even knows what these things are. To prevent the United States from entering a war, if it comes, to save his administration and the country, this charming, lovable man must turn to steel if he is to resist the pleas of wicked and hysterical men and women.

*New York, January 17.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

You know this job of running the city isn't exactly what it's cracked up to be. Some people might be able to get fun out of it. But I can't have any fun so long as I know that any part of my people are improperly housed or nourished.

*New York, October 4.*

***Landon, Alf M.***

It is always well to remember those simple and fundamental qualities which made Lincoln a moral force—which enabled him to lead the nation through some of its darkest days. He possessed humility. He believed in the combined wisdom of the people. He had abiding spiritual faith. Men today need such faith. Without it there can be no enduring security for this or any nation. Men need such faith for the preservation of the freedom for which our government was founded—and for which Abraham Lincoln made every sacrifice.

*New York, February 12.*

***Lewis, John L.***

I am not a Communist. I am not a Democrat or a Republican. Neither am I a Socialist nor a Fascist, nor any other kind of an "ist." I'm just an American who is for anything that is good for Americans.

*Interview, May 6.*

***Lindbergh, Charles A.***

I did it; why should I celebrate it? (Referring to flight from New York to Paris.)

*Interview, published May 22.*

***Ludwig, Emil***

It is very striking to a European, accustomed to seeing heads of states surrounded by soldiers and formality, to see the informality, the enthusiasm, and the confidence of Mr. Roosevelt.

*Interview, July 9.*

***MacDonald, Ramsay***

The great work he (Philip Snowden) has done for the maintenance of democratic institutions and demo-

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cratic ideals has been invaluable. His place in the momentous political history of our time will become more and more conspicuous.

*Interview, May 15.*

I am going in search of that most elusive of all forms of happiness—rest.

*Interview, November 4.*

### **Mann, Thomas**

I stand here to make a single profession of my devotion to the cause of human freedom and against the hostile forces of our day that bear the political name of fascism.

*New York, April 21.*

### **Morgan, Arthur E.**

I have a great admiration for Senator Norris, regardless of any political differences. He is one of the greatest men in public life. His only concern is the public interest.

*Interview, January 18.*

### **Mussolini, Benito**

I admire Roosevelt. I admire him because he is so bold, because he also is something of a dictator, not in the sense that I am a dictator. He is what I should describe as a social dictator. He concentrates in his hands all the power possible under your system in order to dictate social justice. Thereby he has averted great dangers in the United States. Roosevelt's task is difficult because he had to carry out his social reforms within the capitalistic system.

*Interview, February 1.*

**Pope, James P.**

A Presidential candidate requires enormous endurance, and I don't believe women possess the same power of physical endurance and energy that men have. Mrs. (Franklin D.) Roosevelt comes as near to it as any woman I have seen; she is remarkable in her capacity to cover ground and perform public service; but I still do not think she has all the strength required.

*New York, May 22.*

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

In all my years of association with Jim Farley I have never once heard him utter one mean syllable about any human being. I have never heard him suggest reprisal, except once, when after a particularly vicious and mean attack he said to me, "That fellow's mother ought to spank him."

*Washington, D.C., February 15.*

I do not want to leave the country in the condition Buchanan left it to Lincoln. If I cannot, in the brief time given me to attack its deep and disturbing problems, solve those problems, I hope at least to have moved them well on the way to solution by my successor. It is absolutely essential that the solving process begin at once.

*Interview, published February 27.*

My great ambition on January 20, 1941 is to turn over this desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him as President, a nation intact, a nation at peace, a nation prosperous, a nation clear in its knowledge of what powers it has to serve its own citizens, a nation that is in a position to use

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those powers to the full in order to move forward steadily to meet the modern needs of humanity, a nation which has thus proved that the democratic form and methods of national government can and will succeed.

*Radio address, March 4.*

### **Selassie, Haile**

Not only did Mussolini offer me money, but also the return of my state funds. I would not sell my people for a pound or so a head, nor would I accept personal wealth and security at such a price.

*Interview, November 13.*

### **Selwyn, Edward G.**

The ruler of Italy supposes himself to be a Caesar, but he is a true type of the Assyrian Emperor Antiochus, surnamed the Brilliant and nicknamed "The Madman." No one who knows the Italians will deny that they are by nature a kindly and unwarlike people. Their record of savagery in Ethiopia, Libya, and Spain, a record which recalls the atrocities of which the Armenians were victims a generation ago, can only be explained by the view that they have been seized by a spirit of evil of a superhuman nature.

*London, March 18.*

### **Streicher, Julius**

History's greatest physician is our Fuehrer.

*Duesseldorf, Germany, August 10.*

### **Trotsky, Leon**

I still believe in world revolution.

*Interview, January 12.*

***Vandenberg, Arthur H.***

I think Samuel Gompers was the greatest labor statesman who ever lived.

*Washington, D. C., July 28.*

***Wagner, Robert F.***

History will record that the real death blow to communism and fascism in America was delivered through the achievements of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

*New York, July 5.*



# Press

## ***Adler, Julius Ochs***

To suppress news, to distort it or color it, is thoroughly bad newspaper citizenship, and any editor who is worthy of the name condemns the barest suggestion of indifference towards these high principles of his profession.

*Athens, Tenn., May 12.*

## ***Bryson, Lyman***

The newspaper is one of the most powerful influences in the changing of public opinion. We are a nation of newspaper readers. The whole sum of cultural influences that millions of Americans get comes from the newspapers. While I do not advocate censorship, I feel that in view of the tremendous power of the press, the newspaper owner should accept responsibility for what he prints and its effects on the people's lives. Fortunately, a very larger proportion of the publishers accept their responsibility, and they are the most successful. You do not have to run an irresponsible newspaper to make money.

*New York, February 12.*



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### **Clark, Bennett Champ**

Nothing can be more dangerous to the liberties of any people than to have the press controlled by government, forced to be subservient to officials, appointed perhaps by dictators, as to what facts they may not bring to the knowledge of the people, what fables or distortions of fact they must foist upon the public, what opinion they may express, to what vile propaganda they must give utterance, and what proper expressions of opinion and warning on questions of public import they must suppress.

*New York, April 21.*

### **Davis, John W.**

There is one field which under the Constitution escapes Congressional intrusion. That field is the freedom of the press.

*Washington, D. C., February 9.*

### **Fineshriber, William H.**

I prefer to call them not journalists, for that comes from the French word *journal*, having reference to time; not newspaper men and women, for they deserve a much more honorific title; I like to call them reporters. They do not adorn; they do not philosophize. They dig for facts. Without these reporters what chance for culture and civilization could we have in these times?

*Philadelphia, April 25.*

### **Ford, Henry**

Newspapers are the best educators; they arrive every day and are up to the minute.

*Interview, February 25.*

**Hemenway, Charles C.**

It is part of the modern challenge to the press that it shall preserve its own character in the face of conditions that bewilder the world and stampede it in a thousand directions; that it shall forfeit neither its right nor its ability to lead.

*New Haven, Conn., April 8.*

**Hoover, Herbert**

A free press is far more than a publisher's privilege. It is a right of the people. But the publishers are its first lines of defense. They deserve the gratitude of the country for the zeal with which they have driven back every attempt at legal restrictions.

*Waterville, Maine, November 8.*

**Hoover, J. Edgar**

The great evil in the press today is the growing tendency of some elements to print utterly false and fantastic stories without basis of fact.

*Interview, published January 20.*

**Lyons, Eugene**

Reporting must not simply transmit the surface; it must acquire depth, a third dimension, and it has been suggested that it needs also a fourth dimension—intuition.

*New York, November 5.*

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

Speculation in news stories is just as dangerous as speculation on the stock exchange.

*Interview, November 5.*

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

### ***Stahlman, James G.***

Never in the history of the American Commonwealth was there such an opportunity for constructive service on the part of its press. Never has there been such a clear call to duty.

*Detroit, July 19.*

The right of free speech and a free press entails upon those who would continue to enjoy it certain obligations. The press must print the truth in its news and editorial columns. On the other hand the people themselves have a reciprocal obligation to seek the truth, to recognize it when they have found it, to use it intelligently to protect and defend themselves, and to preserve for posterity those fundamentals of human existence for which men have died and will continue to shed their blood, because those things are as fundamental as the universe, as deathless as time and as eternal as the stars.

*New York, October 4.*

### ***Wells, Linton***

Between right and wrong, an honest newspaper man cannot be neutral.

*New York, November 5.*

# Religion

## ***Belloc, Hilaire***

Every major question in history is a religious question. Religion is the main determining element in any country—it has more effect in molding life than nationalism or a common language.

*New York, February 16.*

## ***Black, Hugo L.***

The constitutional safeguard to complete liberty of religious belief is a declaration of the greatest importance to the future of America as a nation of free people. Any movement or action by any group that threatens to bring about a result inconsistent with this unrestricted individual right is a menace to freedom.

*Radio address, October 1.*

## ***Booth, Evangeline***

There is suffering on all sides and our hearts tremble. Some are likely to despair of humankind, but let me say, do not judge the whole world by spots any more than you would judge the sun by spots. In my opinion the world is better. It is a better world than it has ever been in any previous era known to historians. We need not fear for the future because

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Christ is in the forerank and Christ is marching on.  
On Christianity hangs the destiny of the human race.  
*New York, November 7.*

There is just one thing wrong with the world and it is this: The world is trying to get along without God—and it can't be done.  
*Interview, published November 14.*

### **Butler, Nicholas Murray**

Religion is a human discovery and a human possession. On it depend the comfort, satisfaction and destiny of the human race. Strike out religious faith and the future is dark indeed. Why trouble to serve one's fellow men if they are so many animals? Without religion an intellectual, moral, and happy life is unthinkable. The religious aspect of life is the original aspect, the most long continuing and the one which no matter what happens cannot be escaped. Take from the world's literature and the world's art their religious faith, their religious inspiration, and their religious appeal, and there would be strangely little left of the highest order of excellence.

*New York, January 17.*

If we were to dissect civilization for the last one thousand years, taking out the indirect products of religion, how barren that history would be.

*Southampton, N. Y., August 15.*

### **Coffin, Henry Sloane**

In every realm of life we are indebted to others. The land in which we live was discovered and settled and we did not have to be pioneers and explorers; our homes are made convenient by devices we did not contrive; our shelves are filled with books we did not

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write. And in the deepest of all realms, the realm of conscience, Jesus Christ, the uniquely sensitive conscience, has felt as His own the sin of the world, and has offered Himself for the unrighteous that He might bring us all back to God.

*New York, March 7.*

It may seem odd that democracy has its spiritual roots in faith in a sovereign God who claims the total allegiance of man's heart, mind, and strength. But the plain fact, which current happenings bring home forcibly, is that man requires an object of devotion whose demands on him are absolute. Whenever faith in God disappears, something inferior is deified—the race, the nation, the class, the leader. The exaltation of the human to be absolute, be it a group or an individual, is the nemesis of freedom. It results in a totalitarian tyranny.

*Wellesley, Mass., June 20.*

### ***Coughlin, Charles E.***

You captains of industry, yours it is to modify your views, to carry religion into the counting room and factory, so that when you argue and debate the industrial problem, there will sit as the chairman of the board of directors, Jesus Christ, the Babe of Bethlehem.

*Radio address, January 1.*

### ***Dallas, John T.***

The firm and courageous stand of the German clergy against the cruel and unfair demands of a totalitarian state and its powerful dictator, stands high among the great evidence that God is winning the world to Himself.

*New York, January 31.*

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### ***Fosdick, Harry E.***

Religion is suspect, for all its value in giving meaning to life, because there is the modern fear that it cannot be tested by strict science. The response is that one cannot get at the fundamental truth of religion, art, music and things spiritual without getting beyond scientific method. There are other ways of knowing truly than by dissection.

*New York, April 25.*

Religion's unbreakable hold upon the human soul is due in part to the fact that it presents the most stimulating and hopeful interpretation of life that man has ever had. Religion is something more than all the creeds that have endeavored to express its thought, and all the organizations that have endeavored to incarnate its purposes. Religion is the revelation to the human spirit of an interpretation of life that puts into living, sense and reason, worth and dignity, joy and satisfaction.

*New York, May 9.*

### ***Hitler, Adolf***

I will not tolerate that the German people's authority shall be menaced from any quarter. That holds good above all for the churches. As long as they confine their activities to religious problems the State will not molest them. If, however, they attempt to arrogate to themselves through actions, pronouncements, or encyclicals, rights that belong to the State, we will drive them back to the domains of their spiritual and ministerial functions.

*Berlin, May 1.*

Just as individual man is weak in his whole being and action on this earth, as compared with Almighty

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Providence and Its will, man will be immeasurably stronger the moment he acts in harmony with this Providence.

*Wurzburg, Germany, June 27.*

### ***Lehman, Herbert H.***

Now they are teaching hatred, suspicion, and intolerance to little children in various parts of the world. It is bad enough to teach intolerance and bigotry to adults. Adults pass on, but to little children these things last for generations because they teach their children. So long as that spirit of hatred and intolerance exists, and I am afraid it is growing in many parts of the world, it behooves us here to teach our children to love their religion, and practice it and live in a spirit of tolerance and good will.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., June 10.*

### ***Mann, Thomas***

There are no more repulsive examples of the confusion and barbarization of our world than those who claim to overthrow Christianity.

*New York, April 15.*

### ***Manning, William T.***

What is needed now in this day of crisis is a world-wide awakening to the power of Christ and to the majesty and supremacy of God.

*New York, March 28.*

The times in which we are living are a challenge to all of us and they will be more of a challenge in the days ahead. It is time for us to take stock, and both as sincere Christians and citizens to look at our



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foundations and to see what we are standing for and where we are going. We need today men and women who are strong in the Lord and in the power of His might. We need a faith in God that is real and thereby brings God as a reality into our lives. That faith must be one that nothing can shake or take away.

*New York, April 11.*

It is a belief in God and a future life which keeps men sane and balanced and makes them see the things of this life in their true proportions, which makes our life in this world rational and intelligible and responsible. The greatest and most urgent need of our modern world is a return to the belief in the supreme sovereignty of God and the reality of the life hereafter.

*New York, November 7.*

### ***Peale, Norman V.***

Any individual may discover the secret of becoming a great Christian possessing spiritual power by following this simple procedure: Let God change his life. Make a complete surrender to God. Be honest, pure, unselfish, and practice the spirit of love. Make restitution to all you have wronged. Seek to follow the guidance of God in all things, large or small. This technique will work for any one who will sincerely try it.

*New York, February 7.*

### ***Pius, Pope***

The situation in Catholic Germany is not only grave but lamentable. It is so grave, so threatening and so painful that it causes one to weep.

*Vatican City, June 9.*

**Rockefeller, John D., Jr.**

The Great War swept over the world, mowing down millions of the flower of the young manhood of the nations, destroying billions of dollars worth of property, raising mankind to heights of idealism, then plunging civilization into depths of materialism and selfishness. But God has not changed. The Rock of Ages stands. So do integrity, truth, justice, duty, love—the everlasting foundations upon which alone can God build the Kingdom of Heaven here on earth among men. He cannot build it alone. He needs your help and mine. He also asks of each of us our best. We are not responsible for what others do, or do not do, nor the outcome.

*New York, February 23.*

The church is a human institution fashioned to help man in his relations to God and to his fellow man. It is no more perfect or infallible than man himself. Therefore, it should be no less easily changed, no less adaptable to the progressing needs of man than any other institution that ministers to man's growth and development.

*Tarrytown, N. Y., March 7.*

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

If civilization is to survive, the principles of the Prince of Peace must be restored.

*Chicago, October 5.*

**Rosenman, Samuel I.**

The American Jew refuses, and will refuse, to include in his Jewish thought or conduct anything which can by any reasonable interpretation make his Americanism suspect.

*New York, January 31.*

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### ***Wallace, Henry A.***

Undoubtedly, the most powerful book of all the ages is the Bible. It has caused the shedding of millions of gallons of blood and has soothed hundreds of millions of aching hearts. The fiery example of insurgent prophets shouting, "Thus saith the Lord," has caused many a man to battle for social justice with superhuman strength. The humble example of the long-suffering Christ has caused many millions to live calmly and hopefully in the most difficult circumstances. The vigor of a Saint Paul has given extraordinary energy to many thousands of evangelists.

*New York, November 4.*

# Science

## ***Boas, Franz***

The claim that racial descent determines behavior nowadays rests upon a misapplication under which racial type and behavior are being considered as two aspects of the same phenomenon, without investigation of how far the two are related. The posture and gestures which have been claimed to be racially determined depend upon environment. The types of crimes committed by immigrants differ in character and frequency from those committed by their descendants whose crime records are quite similar to those of native born Americans.

*Paris, July 31.*

## ***Compton, Karl T.***

Whereas the old (economic) order was based on competition, the new order of science makes possible for the first time a cooperative, creative effort in which every one is the gainer and no one the loser. For this reason I believe that the advent of modern science is the most important social event in all history.

*Boston, June 6.*

## ***Conant, James B.***

How few who enjoy the benefits of civilization realize

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the source of the very things they hold most dear! How few appreciate what we owe to the work of countless scholars and scientists who have labored with little material reward in our universities and research institutions during the last century.

*New York, March 20.*

### ***Heyd, Charles G.***

A social evolution is brought about through painful experience. It takes a great deal of time to put a new scientific discovery into general and effective use.

*New York, May 5.*

### ***Hooton, Earnest A.***

It seems to me that the geneticists, whose investigations are at present restricted to the study of plants and lower animals, have in their heads and their notebooks the rudiments of knowledge which, if developed and applied to man, may save us from the evolutionary fate which overtook the trilobites and the dinosaurs. Even if we are unconcerned with the possible extinction of homo sapiens in the remote future, we ought to realize that breeding bad animals messes up society within a few generations. There is almost no lag of social chaos upon biological degeneration.

*New York, November 11.*

### ***Joliot-Curie, Irene***

No scientist can boast today of being thoroughly acquainted with even one of the fundamental divisions of science.

*Radio address, October 9.*

### ***Keppel, Frederick P.***

It would not be unfair to say that most of those

who are themselves advancing the frontiers of scientific knowledge are frankly not interested in the popular diffusion of such knowledge. When approached upon the subject they are likely to reveal a fear that, if it were known by their scientific colleagues that they were developing such an interest, they would lose face, and this despite excellent examples to the contrary to be found in England and elsewhere.

*Philadelphia, February 19.*

***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

Don't ever get too scientific, lest you lose the human touch. Christ did not know the calories in the bread He handed out.

*New York, November 7.*

***Levy, Hyman***

The crucial problem of social importance has never been dealt with by scientists. They could not give a unified answer to why there are so many poor and why there is poverty amidst plenty, or on what social basis they decide which branches of science should be encouraged.

*Nottingham, England, September 6.*

***Mason, Max***

I am frankly enthusiastic about the use of science toward the understanding of ourselves because I consider that our most important problem. Man has made himself master of the physical forces. The repercussions of this technological development on social life have been violent. Our need is now adaptation to our self-made social environment. We must consciously control our mental and physical growth.

*Chicago, February 16.*

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

### ***Mellon, Andrew W.***

As a result of all my reading and observation it seemed to me that improvement in the standard of living of the human race could come about in the future only by reason of new discoveries and inventions, just as, in the past, the steam engine and other inventions had been responsible for many improvements in the standard of living enjoyed by the average man today. It was these things and not governmental or political action, that had increased production, lowered costs, raised wages, elevated the standard of living, and so had brought about a greater participation of the human race in these benefits.

*Pittsburgh, May 6.*

### ***Millikan, Robert A.***

The world has not for three hundred years faced a reaction like the present, when mankind is told to return to superstition and irrationalism and against science. Where sentimentalists reign, jungle laws will reign. Let us hope our (scientists') continued work may contribute to save liberty of thought.

*Copenhagen, Denmark, May 28.*

### ***Moulton, Forest R.***

If science is to be made to realize its possibilities in the advance of civilization, then it must become an essential part of the intellectual life of the average man, for in the long run, the masses determine the rate of progress . . . Fortunately science is extraordinarily varied and rich in its contact with our lives. It is adventure and romance. It has quick surprises, for it often illuminates a domain as a flash of lightning does a landscape at night. It fires the imagina-

tion, exhausts the reasoning powers, and overwhelms with the awe of its infinities.

*New York, November 11.*

### ***Rust, Bernhard***

For us race is the fruitful first principle of all the sciences dealing with mankind.

*Gottingen, Germany, June 26.*

### ***Sarnoff, David***

The scientist and the sociologist have viewpoints which are perhaps too widely separated. The scientist is engaged in the pursuit of truth, the knowledge of which is the most valuable of our acquired assets. The sociologist is concerned with the ultimate effects of truth upon human behavior. To the scientist the discovery of truth is an end in itself. To the sociologist it is only a means to an end. The scientist is interested in our balance sheet. The sociologist is interested in our profit and loss statement . . . Whereas the scientific world glorifies truth, the social world still operates largely with prejudice.

*Washington, D. C., April 30.*

### ***Urey, Harold C.***

I believe I speak for the vast majority of all scientific men in this (Mellon) institute, in industrial laboratories and in our universities. Our object is not to make jobs and dividends. These are the means to an end, mere incidentals. We wish to abolish drudgery, discomfort and want from the lives of men, and bring them pleasure, comfort, leisure, and beauty.

*Pittsburgh, May 6.*



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A scientist can work best only when he is free to follow up what interests him. No dictator knows enough to tell scientists what to do. Ninety-five researches out of a hundred may come to nothing; the five lucky ones that succeed are worth all the failures. If a scientist has to explain a negative result in prison he will hesitate to wander off into the bypaths of research in which the interesting discoveries are made. Only in democratic nations can science flourish. That, together with our natural wealth, is the reason why the United States is leading the world in science today.

*Interview, published October 10.*

### **Wallace, Henry A.**

More and more humanity is feeling disappointment in the destructive and unbalanced effects of analytical science and *laissez faire* economics. More and more humanity senses the need for coordination of our vast detailed knowledge in application to the economic, physical, and spiritual life of the individual and the nation.

*New York, November 4.*

### **Weidlein, Edward R.**

Modern research is characterized by its complexity and the variety of phases it presents. In the latter half of the last century and the beginning of the present, it was still possible for an individual, working alone and with comparatively limited facilities, to achieve epoch making results in the borderline fields of research. The surface has now been well explored and it is consequently necessary to probe deeper and to enlist the cooperation of trained specialists in such widely diversified fields as chemistry, biology, physics, and engineering.

*Rochester, N. Y., September 7.*

# **Social Philosophy**

## ***Angell, James R.***

Real and lasting progress can come only by slow and thoughtfully considered measures which, resting on those elements in the existing order that are sound, seek one by one to eliminate those which are evil, and replace them with such as are wholesome and just.

*New Haven, Conn., June 22.*

## ***Babson, Roger W.***

Controlling crops, managing money, legislating wages, hours or prices, or giving relief, will not eliminate selfishness, the root of our economic and social troubles.

*Boston, September 14.*

## ***Bankhead, William B.***

The progress of the world depends upon our adopting new ideas and discarding old ones. If we still had the same notions as the people of fifty years ago we should be where they were. And we have advanced along all lines of thought. Look at our recent legislation and then consider how a majority of the people but a few years ago would have regarded it. Our entire outlook, both social and political, has broadened.

*Interview, published February 14.*

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### ***Borah, William E.***

It is wise to make appropriations for our physical defense. But it is wiser, it is more necessary, it is indispensable that we have that defense which arises out of the spiritual and moral devotion of the people to their country; and those forces which would sap and undermine the character and the stamina of the American people and the loyalty of the American people, ought not to find any compromise or any palliation or excuse by any one in this country.

*Washington, D. C., June 23.*

### ***Browder, Earl***

Socialism is inevitable because the working class inevitably responds with enthusiasm and heroism to the inspiring call of leaders who advance the principles of Lenin, Stalin, Marx, and Engels. Capitalism is doomed beyond all reprieve because it can by no means produce men or ideas which shape the human spirit beyond the most ephemeral moment.

*New York, January 20.*

### ***Carrel, Alexis***

Industrial civilization has committed the sin of developing specialists exclusively. It has starved out of existence those who are interested in the relations of several departments of knowledge. There is an imperative need for such men.

*Chicago, February 21.*

### ***Coffin, Henry Sloane***

We live in an infested world. Titanic forces such as nationalism, the sense of race, the subtly concealed pull of economic interest, and traditions which survive from

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countless outmoded centuries, lay mastering hands upon us. It is the lower elements in man which become endemic infections in society. Disease is contagious, while health, unhappily, is not.

*South Hadley, Mass., June 13.*

### ***Darling, J. N.***

No government can long continue to exist when any proportion of its people goes hungry for any great length of time.

*St. Louis, March 4.*

### ***Davis, John W.***

The gravest phenomenon of the modern world, speaking now in terms of governmental theory, not only in this country but as it shows itself throughout the entire civilized world, is the increasing belief in the power, the wisdom, the sufficiency of the State as an independent, abstract, benevolent entity, superior to the individual, wiser than the individual, more benevolent than the individual.

*New York, May 10.*

### ***De Valera, Eamon***

As Catholics we conceive the function of the State to be not to submerge but to aid the individual and the family, which we acknowledge to be more fundamental than the State.

*Radio address, March 17.*

### ***Dodds, Harold W.***

Probably never before in the world's history has the average man been so aware of danger to the civilization of his time.

*Princeton, N. J., September 28.*

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### **Farley, James A.**

No government that ever existed, no government that could even be imagined, can please everybody.

*Radio address, November 8.*

### **Fosdick, Harry E.**

Man's life can be divided into two distinguishable areas—civilization and culture. Civilization is the complex of devices, mechanisms, techniques, and instrumentalities by means of which we live. Culture is the realm of spiritual ends expressed in art, literature, morals, and religion, for which at our best we live. Civilization is made up of things which we utilize to get something else. Culture is made up of values which we desire for their own sakes. Civilization is what we use. Culture is what we are.

*Baltimore, June 7.*

For a century and more mankind has been absorbed in producing a civilization, an immense and marvelous system of implements by which to live, but we have not been engaged with any commensurate intelligence on creating a culture of worthwhile spiritual ends, personal and social, for which to live.

*New York, August 8.*

### **Frank, Glenn**

Men are not always as good as the courses they lead. You do not necessarily damn a movement when you debunk its leader. High enterprises may, at times, use faulty instruments.

*New York, February 8.*

The time may conceivably come when the forces of science, technology, and power production will create

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a productivity so lavish, an interdependence so delicate, that a system of free enterprise with its myriad private decisions will prove unworkable.

*Boston, October 12.*

### **Hooton, Earnest A.**

If any one believes that human relations have improved within the past quarter century, that there are fewer criminals and generally anti-social individuals, and that man has realized the stupidity of war, he may scoff at the assertion that we are now preserving the unfit in body and mind, and that society faces the immediate prospect of domination by quick-breeding dullards, lead by cunning psychopaths. Therefore, I think it imperative that we study human variation and human inheritance, before liberty of speech and of social action become phenomena of the past.

*New York, November 11.*

### **Hoover, Herbert**

I know the philosophic view that truth is only proximate; that people differ on what constitutes truth. But despite all hair splitting, there are enough standards of truth and morals at any one period to lead men and women upward.

*Waterville, Maine, November 8.*

It is creative intelligence we need in these times. Our generation has in some measure triumphantly solved the problem of production of plenty. But there remains the difficult and unsolved problems of distributing the goods of the productive machine so that want and economic suffering may be abolished from the land. There are those who find hopes in the gorgeous phrases of salvation by government. There are

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others who place their faith in unregulated competition, in the belief that human welfare will somehow automatically result. Thoughtful men have long since come to the conclusion that both of these courses lead to the destruction of the most precious possession of our race—intellectual and spiritual liberty. It is here that creative intelligence is needed.

*Syracuse, N. Y., November 12.*

### ***Hughes, Charles Evans***

Dishonesty in the purveyors of opinion is the worst of civic vices. The arch enemies of society are those who know better, but by indirection, misstatement, understatement, and slander, seek to accomplish their concealed purposes or to gain profit of some sort by misleading the public.

*Providence, R. I., June 21.*

### ***Hull, Cordell***

No country today possesses within its own frontiers sufficient resources, in terms of either natural endowment or human wisdom and skill, for its population to be prosperous and contented without a large measure of economic and cultural intercourse with the rest of the world.

*Washington, D. C., May 22.*

### ***Jones, Jesse H.***

People must support their government and not expect the government to support them. We in America are proud of our tradition of self-independence and should not permit an economic upheaval and the social disarrangements attending it to destroy this tradition. Habits are not easily broken, and we have gotten into

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the habit of expecting everything of the Federal Government. The longer we put off correcting this, the more dangerous it will get and the more difficult to meet.

*Philadelphia, June 10.*

### ***Kross, Anna B.***

Suppose your boy is out late. Suppose his father says, "Oh, well, he's sowing his wild oats," while you wonder what it means to your boy's health and manhood. No civic group of women has done its duty until it has gone to the police and found out just what dark spots there are in town. Those dark spots are the influences that are destroying many boys and girls. They've got to be cleaned up. The modern boy and girl feel that sex is a modern invention that we poor women know nothing about.

*Atlantic City, May 14.*

### ***La Follette, Philip F.***

Political movements can affect events, in any basic sense, only to the extent that they understand and actually deal with fundamental problems common to all modern agricultural and industrial nations.

*Interview, published January 3.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

We are a determined confident people. To disagree among ourselves is a cherished privilege of a free people. Out of our disagreements comes the will of the people. The will of our people today is to bring about an equitable economic system. We are determined to continue as a constitutional republic. We are willing to assume leadership for world peace—even if at times we



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seem to be most silent. America of today will indeed take an important part in the world of tomorrow.

*New York, October 4.*

### **Landon, Alf M.**

It's not so much the kind of laws you have as it is the administration and enforcement of laws that make for better government.

*Interview, January 9.*

Power feeds on power—today just as it did in the days of Julius Caesar.

*Radio address, October 19.*

### **Lehman, Herbert H.**

People today are doing their own thinking, and reaching their own sound social and political conclusions. They are not willing to be influenced or guided by mere political expediency or to be governed by inertia.

*New York, February 25.*

I believe that the present can properly be described as the age for desire for wider human understanding. Perhaps at no time in the world's history have men and women so greatly striven to understand the problems facing the nations of the world, or have been so willing to give of their time and thought and effort in solving them.

*Albany, March 4.*

Let us all, men and women, throughout the country, dedicate ourselves again to a real interest, a real participation in affairs of the community. Let us become a part of government. Let us know the needs of the community, the needs of the individual. Let us determine

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to help the weak and protect the oppressed. Let us, in a word, maintain a sense of individual obligation to the community and to make right the master of might.

*Troy, N. Y., August 13.*

I am convinced that very few sound social proposals ever fail permanently to secure approval if they have the support of a wide and informed public opinion. I am likewise certain that few sinister proposals can make headway for any great length of time in the face of an aroused adverse public opinion.

*Williamstown, Mass., September 3.*

### ***Lippmann, Walter***

In politics those who won't move themselves and won't let any one pass are known as the party of the extreme right. And those who stampede for exits are known as the party of the extreme left. When the irresistible party of the extreme left collides with the immovable party of the extreme right, the result is a general catastrophe for everybody. This is what happened in Russia in 1917, in Italy in 1922, in Germany in 1932, in Spain in 1936.

*Des Moines, Iowa, June 7.*

### ***Mackay, John A.***

To all thinking men, the most startling fact today is the chaos into which materialism has plunged the human race. The world finds itself suddenly on the verge of economic, social, and political bankruptcy. In material knowledge and invention we have advanced further in a single generation than our ancestors in twenty centuries, yet the end is war and hunger. We have physically unified the world, only to bring on violent

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world division. With all our multiplying of the means of happiness, humanity is bewildered in mind and sick at heart.

*Interview, published February 21.*

### **Mann, Thomas**

The situation of the world today demands that the intellect shed its inherent timidity and inertia and learn to fight and defend itself.

*New York, April 21.*

### **Norris, George W.**

Civilization owes most of its advancement to independent thinkers and voters.

*Interview, published May 30.*

### **Roosevelt, Franklin D.**

The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little.

*Washington, D. C., January 20.*

Selfishness is without doubt the greatest danger that confronts our beloved country today.

*Radio address, March 18.*

### **Russell, William F.**

What most people do not realize is that you cannot introduce a Utopia by violent means, although people all over the world think they can. What we need is not attention to the left or right, but education for the middle of the road.

*New Orleans, February 23.*

## SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

### ***Sandburg, Carl***

I have never seen the time when I had more faith in the human mind and its workings. I have less hope of the educated classes than I ever had, but I have more confidence than ever in the few born "naturals" in the educated classes, those who are going to do the things that cannot be predicted. I am not afraid of the young people. I can name more fools among the young, but I can name more hypocrites and pretenders among the old.

*Interview, January 16.*

### ***Sarnoff, David***

The enlightened citizen accepts the fact that the momentum of society, like the momentum of physical bodies, is the product of mass times velocity. The velocity of the few often has to wait upon the inertia of the many, and it is only by overcoming that inertia that genuine social progress among a free people is achieved.

*Washington, D. C., April 30.*

In a combination of technological education and sociological responsibility is the real hope for the future . . . It is the responsibility of those who advance technocracy to see that the use of their instruments is in the right direction.

*New York, May 21.*

### ***Seymour, Charles***

Never in the history of the world has the menace of materialism been more appalling nor the disastrous consequences of its triumph so obvious. In the political, economic, and social fields of endeavor it has produced and it will perpetuate suicidal strife. Whether

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nation, class or individual be considered, it is literally the *sauve qui peut* of civilization, every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost, a terrifying apotheosis of the philosophy of egotism.

*New Haven, Conn., October 8.*

We are worse off today, perhaps, than ever before, because the spiritual aspirations of humanity are in eclipse in large parts of the world. History shows no such wholesale abandonment of respect for spiritual values as prevails today.

*Interview, published October 17.*

### ***Shaw, George Bernard***

No civilization, however splendid, illustrious, and like our own, can stand up against the social resentment and class conflict which come from a silly mis-distribution of wealth, labor, and leisure. It is the one history lesson that is never taught in our schools.

*Radio address, November 2.*

### ***Sockman, Ralph W.***

It is uncurbed individualism which tends to hinder two persons from living together happily. Unless young people have learned cooperation in their early life, they won't practice it in their marital unions.

*Atlantic City, May 14.*

### ***Stalin, Joseph***

Trust of the people in economic leaders is a great thing. Leaders come and go, but the people remain. The people alone are immortal. Everything else is transitory. Therefore it is necessary to put full value in the trust of the people.

*Moscow, October 31.*

## SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

### **Thompson, Dorothy**

Our social life is riddled with hypocrisy. We preach equality, it is a tenet of the American philosophy, but whole classes of our population are discriminated against socially and economically on grounds which have nothing to do with their individual characters.

*New York, April 25.*

Politics is the highest activity of a civilized state.

*New York, April 25.*

The world envies our technical and scientific achievements, but no country in the world envies or admires the kind of society we have. That is the shameful fact about us.

*Canton, N. Y., June 14.*

### **Tugwell, Rexford G.**

The new leaders that will rise during the next four years ought to be searching now for the best methods to bring the greatest assistance to the people at the bottom of the economic heap. Unless this is done, the people eventually will understand that we are well meaning enough but are not getting anywhere.

*Washington, D. C., January 14.*

### **Tweedsmuir, Lord**

I have always believed that the secrets of the future of civilization lie in the hands of the English speaking people.

*Washington, D. C., April 1.*

### **Wagner, Robert F.**

During the past few years our country has not had an over-dose of social and economic reform. There is

## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

much more progressive legislation that needs to be enacted, and I am going to continue without abatement my efforts in that direction.

*New York, November 12.*

### **Wallace, Henry A.**

Whether we like it or not, every one in the world today is different because of "Das Kapital." Without "Das Kapital" there would have been neither the Communist nor the Fascist experiments. More than any other book of the 19th century, all of us today are living under the shadow of "Das Kapital."

*New York, November 4.*

### **Wells, H. G.**

The general ignorance—even in respectable quarters—of some of the most elementary realities of political and social life of the world is, I believe, mainly accountable for much of the discomfort and menace of our times.

*Nottingham, England, September 2.*

### **Wheeler, Burton K.**

Yes men in Congress, yes men on the bench, yes men in our universities, yes men in our churches can never solve the problems of modern society.

*Providence, R. I., August 12.*

### **Wilbur, Ray Lyman**

Civilization constantly changes. If it fails to grow it stagnates. There must always be more of the vigor of youth and growth than of maturity and senility, if progress is to be made.

*Radio address, February 3.*

## SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

### ***Wriston, Henry M.***

The world today is not so much in need of skill as of character. We do not lack ability so much as we lack purpose. Our capacity for achievement in public life and in private life tends to outrun our ethical impulses.

*Providence, R. I., February 3.*





## Stage and Screen

### ***Adams, Maude***

Nothing can hurt the theatre except bad plays, and nothing can help the theatre but good plays.

*Interview, October 20.*

### ***Anderson, Maxwell***

The mind and body of a playwright who is to live long should be composed entirely of vulcanized rubber, his outer integument should be chain mail on horsehide, and he must thrive on a diet of cold steel and poison . . . He must be born with a sensitive soul that is somehow accompanied by a complete incapacity to feel pain. But of all these qualifications only one is central . . . his priesthood, his belief in what he is doing, his belief in the theatre and its destiny.

*New York, April 1.*

The test of a man's inspiration, for me, is not whether he spoke from a temple or the stage of a theatre, from a martyr's fire or a garden in Hampstead. The test of a message is its continuing effect on the minds of men over a period of generations. The work of art is a hieroglyph, and the artist's endeavor is to set forth his vision of the world in a series of picture writings which convey meanings beyond the scope of direct statement.

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There is reason for believing that there is no other way of communicating new concepts save the artist's way, no other way save the artist's way of illuminating new pathways in the mind.

*Pittsburgh, October 14.*

### ***Buck, Gene***

I see every wall of decency and good taste going down in the theatre today. The only institution that is fighting this decline in theatrical morals is the Catholic Church.

*New York, April 19.*

### ***Buck, Pearl***

It would be interesting to know if our present crop of suicides and neurotics is not partly traceable to motion pictures seen during impressionable years, and to subsequent disappointment or despair when life fails to turn out that way.

*New York, February 4.*

### ***Coburn, Charles***

Today we have no young (stage) stars. Our accomplished actors are mostly over 40 years old. The theatre must have youth, it must have trained people, if it is to last.

*Schenectady, N. Y., August 15.*

### ***Cullman, Howard S.***

The motion pictures in which more than a million dollars are invested cannot afford to be stigmatized with the onus of a serious purpose. Thus the preamble of the Hays code states that "theatrical motion pictures are primarily to be regarded as entertainment," the aim

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of which is "to recreate and rebuild human beings exhausted with the realities of life." This means simply that the best business policy for a mass-production industry is to provide an escape, an anodyne for the pains and sorrows of the harsh world.

*New York, January 7.*

### ***Eastman, Fred***

We want pictures that don't lie, pictures with great characters, great conflicts, great emotions, great imagination, great humor, great choices—pictures with some touch of poetry . . . We can boycott the trash.

*Williamstown, Mass., August 30.*

### ***Gillis, James M.***

Hollywood, despite the Legion of Decency, makes pictures that scandalize savages and barbarians and are expurgated in Japan, China, and India.

*New York, November 7.*

### ***Golden, John***

The worst enemy of the theatre today is the people of the theatre. Perhaps the producers are most to blame—the majority of them are amateur or near-society dilettantes, night club habitués, angel-backers, and shoestring gamblers, with their slipshod, unmoral and even worse, unprepared productions messing up Broadway . . . There is a dreadful dearth of American dramatists. With our population of 130,000,000 there are exactly five who have the right to call themselves playwrights.

*Atlanta, May 30.*

### ***Harlow, Jean***

I'm lucky and I know it. I'm not a great actress and,

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except for the early part of my life in Hollywood, I never thought that I was. But I happen to have something the public likes. I am fortunate because I have been able to appreciate this.

*Interview, published June 12.*

### **Hurst, Fannie**

Hollywood is the limbo of infant literary mortality.

*New York, November 15.*

### **Irwin, Will**

Censorship began in politics and, like the dove to its cote, any government censor flies straight home to politics. Give us a government censor of films, books, and plays in the United States, and after a few years occupied in suppressing exactly the wrong films, books, and plays, he will use his best endeavors to strangle dangerous thoughts—the same being any thoughts that impugn the eternal righteousness, veracity, and wisdom of that party to which he owes his job. And if you think that is fantastic, look at Germany, Russia, and Italy.

*New York, February 6.*

### **Jessel, George**

The kind of plays I used to do, the sentimental ones that were successes, reached out to a middle class audience. That audience doesn't exist any more. The carriage trade still pays \$3.30 at the box office, but the others sit home and listen to the radio. I'm quitting because I can't wait around for the right play and the return of my audience to the theatre, and I won't go artistic, like the Theatre Guild, to make maybe \$9. Life is too short and I want to buy some race horses if I should live so long.

*Interview, published November 7.*

## STAGE AND SCREEN

### **Korda, Alexander**

The only difference between an actor and a star is the size of the head.

*Interview, published May 16.*

I cannot dispute Hollywood's domination of the motion picture world in the future, but I do feel that it cannot continue to have the whole loaf. In the long run, no one country can satisfy another country's appetite for entertainment or for anything else. Just as the press, the literature, the theatre, and even the food of a nation must have a national aspect, so must its cinema.

*Interview, published June 13.*

### **Mamoulian, Rouben**

The motion picture is an art in its inner conception, but in its present state of development it is primarily a mass production industry. A motion picture has no justification without an audience. The importance of a film is half on the screen and half in the eye of the beholder. The audience, therefore, determines what the screen shall present.

*Interview, August 4.*

### **March, Fredric**

To tell you the truth, I don't think I'm the type they get particularly excited about. Oh, yes, I sign my share of autograph books when in crowds, but somehow I never take that sort of fame—if you can call it fame—seriously. If I had discovered a great cancer cure, for instance, or had flown the Atlantic alone, it would be another thing. But, in this business, you soon realize—providing you use your head—that popularity doesn't last forever and that some day—well, who knows?

*Interview, November 1.*

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### ***Mayer, Arthur***

The theory that there is no good (film) critic except a dead one is a fallacy based on the superficial resemblance of critics to Indians, their strange outcries on the war path, the scalps which they display in their tepees, their love of white man's fire water.

*Interview, published July 25.*

### ***Muni, Paul***

When I am working on something, no matter whether it is for the stage or screen, the subject is all that counts. I never think of the result in terms of success. The work itself is what interests me—the discovery of the role, the joy of piecing it together, the thrill of finding something new. That is the same, on stage or screen.

*Interview, October 23.*

### ***Sockman, Ralph W.***

The theatre is often more effective than the pulpit in stirring the public conscience because the rapier of ridicule can frequently reach more deeply than the blunt weapons of argument and exhortation.

*New York, April 16.*

# War and Peace

## ***Baden-Powell, Lord***

What we want in the world is peace, happiness and prosperity for all, and we can get it if all men become friends instead of rivals. Get to see the other fellow's point of view as well as your own. Work in cooperation rather than in rivalry. By doing this you will not only be opening up better commerce, better trade, better political relationships with your fellow men of other countries, but also you will be bringing about that feeling of good will among men which is the true foundation for peace in the world.

*Radio address, July 6.*

## ***Baker, Newton D.***

I am not advocating that the United States enter the League of Nations tomorrow, but I will say that in this world today we have only one choice, and it is between international cooperation and chaos.

*Chicago, March 11.*

No system of neutrality, however apparently perfect, is an absolute protection against war. There is always need of vigilance by the government, and wisdom in the conduct of its relations with belligerents. Americans are far too apt to trust to machinery, and think it



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will work of itself without supervision; in short, that it can be made foolproof.

*Boston, May 8.*

### **Baldwin, Stanley**

The (British) Government has not lost hope, and is devoting its efforts to maintain peace by a pact to take the place of the old Locarno pact with the old Locarno powers. It is worth anything and everything in Europe today to get a feeling of security, at any rate in one part, from which that security, if once attained, may spread to other parts of the Continent. Were there a pact—I am not speaking of collective security through the whole of Europe—for mutual assistance against aggression between the nations of Western Europe, I hold and believe that such a pact could maintain peace.

*London, February 18.*

What is clear is that today Europe is neither at war nor at peace, but stands at armed attention. For every soldier who died at the front another is taking his place; for every ship sent to the bottom of the sea another rides the waves, and for every airplane brought down to earth twenty new ones sail the skies. And that in itself is a sufficiently melancholy, devastating reply to all the efforts of the lovers of peace.

*London, May 18.*

### **Baruch, Bernard M.**

Wars are now entirely economic in their origin. Such wars are never won. They are only, as always, lost by the victor and the vanquished alike. We can make a start toward preventing war, toward minimizing the losses of a war on the civilian front after the fighting is over on the military front. This can be done,

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as far as possible, by eliminating the profit that war brings and by paying as we fight, as far as may be, by increased taxes and low prices. But in eliminating profits we must be careful not to eliminate our actual war defenses. A state of armed neutrality can preserve its neutral character much easier than unarmed neutrality can.

*Washington, D. C., February 4.*

We never got into any war by reason of what we sold to belligerent countries. What sucked us into the World War was our insistence on our right to ship our goods in our vessels on the high seas in accordance with the international law of war as it existed prior to the particular emergency. We stood for the doctrine of freedom of the seas.

*Cleveland, May 21.*

### ***Bingham, Robert W.***

If dictatorships are better to prepare for war, democracies are better to finish wars. Despots have forced America and Britain to undertake rearmament, and, having undertaken it, we must necessarily win the rearmament race. May we hope that this realization may come to war mongers in time, and before another catastrophe occurs, so terrible and ghastly that imagination recoils.

*London, July 4.*

### ***Blum, Leon***

What nation would consent to cooperate with another nation, either by opening credits or by improving the supply of raw materials or by affording facilities for emigration or colonization, if it should be compelled to remain in apprehension that the help given—these

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credits, these raw materials, these foreign settlements—will be used only for the increase of the military potential of which it or its friends would be the victim? There is a necessary and unavoidable liaison between economic cooperation on the one side and the organization of peace with the limitation of armaments on the other. If there is to be work done in common it must be done in peace.

*Lyons, France, January 24.*

### **Bonnet, Georges**

Everywhere the depression is declining. The rise in world prices for raw materials is proof. But of all the dangers which threaten world recovery the greatest is the fear of a new European war. The mere thought of such a peril paralyzes the spirit of enterprise. When peace can be established in Europe we will enter an era of unprecedented prosperity.

*Bordeaux, France, January 17.*

Economic problems today dominate political problems, and on their solution the peace of the world depends. That is why I have always defended the development of freedom of exchange and freedom of money in so far as they are possible.

*Interview, Paris, February 10.*

### **Bullitt, William C.**

We are determined to stay out of war but this does not mean that we are indifferent to the fate of Europe. In America and in France we are convinced that there is such a thing as international law. We have proclaimed that the doctrine of permanent peace cannot be established unless barriers of international trade can be reduced so that economic disarmament may accompany military disarmament.

*Radio address, October 6.*

## WAR AND PEACE

### ***Butler, Nicholas Murray***

We are so stupid as human beings that until things get to the breaking point we don't want to do anything; but this is ridiculous nonsense. This economic nationalism can't go on much longer without things getting to the breaking point. I do not believe there will be a world war. The war in Spain is a typical contest between two reactionary forms of government—communism and fascism.

*Interview, June 2.*

An organized family of nations must come into being to protect the moral standards of those nations, and through an international police do for the world's order precisely what the municipal police do for the order of the neighborhood. To call this police work war is a flat contradiction in terms. It is the instrumentality for the rule of law, and to the rule of law there is absolutely no alternative but the rule of force.

*Radio address, November 11.*

### ***Byrd, Richard E.***

To let the war monster crush civilization without a struggle is a "jelly-fish" attitude. If the nations of the world put one-fourth as much money and effort into stopping war as they do into preparing for it with the ever increasing armaments, war would most certainly be licked.

*Radio address, April 6.*

As you know, in this country war is declared by Congress. I recommend that the Constitution be so amended that the United States cannot engage in a foreign war unless it is voted by the citizens of the country. Of course, when our country is attacked, the

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President and Congress should have the power to act quickly. In the matter of this popular referendum I am speaking of a foreign war.

*Philadelphia, April 22.*

Acquisitive nations, like acquisitive men, are not held in leash by law, have a tendency to bully the weak and take what they need, and respect only power. It is, therefore, dangerous to peace for a nation to lose prestige by giving the appearance of weakness or pacifism. It is high time for the democracies to bring to the surface that firmness and strength of character which they really possess.

*Grand Rapids, Mich., July 8.*

Force can be applied to a recalcitrant nation by peace loving nations without necessarily fighting. Various economic moves can be made. Supplies, arms and credit can be given to the weak nation that is unfairly attacked by the aggressor nation. The most effective force short of war would be a trade boycott which would be devastating to the aggressor nations. If the Secretary of State feels that he needs authority to do more than make a futile protest, then the administration should be given that authority by Congress, if necessary.

*Radio address, November 12.*

### **Catt, Carrie Chapman**

We are 10,000 years nearer to permanent peace than were the cave men 10,000 years ago.

*Chicago, January 27.*

### **Chamberlain, Austen**

The agreements that exist between all nations are quite sufficient for the purpose if the nations intend to

## WAR AND PEACE

observe them. The difficulty is not that enough have not been signed, but that enough treaties are not kept.

*London, March 16.*

### **Chamberlain, Neville**

As I watch the (armament) figures mounting up, as I reflect upon the growing cost of the maintenance of this vast panoply when we have completed it, I cannot help being impressed by the incredible folly of a civilization which is piling these terrible burdens on the shoulders of the nations—burdens which, if something is not done to reduce them, are bound to pull down the standard of living for a generation to come.

*Birmingham, England, January 29.*

When I scan the international horizon today it seems to me that in spite of certain threatening clouds there is a very definite, perceptible lightening of the tension. I seem to see some indication of a more general recognition that we cannot go on as we are going now, and that we have got to turn our minds to find some new method of approach to hitherto insoluble problems. I do not even now despair of a return to a saner state of things. There are other countries besides our own (Britain) where the weight of armaments is pressing down on the backs of the people, and where the resources at their disposal are by no means so abundant and buoyant as they are here.

*London, April 29.*

### **Chiang Kai-shek, Mrs.**

I have often wondered what we women of the world could do to encourage science to keep people alive instead of mowing them down in masses . . . The world should maintain the machinery of peace. The muni-

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tion makers do not want peace. Can't we women step into the breach?

*Radio-telephone talk, May 19.*

### ***Davis, Norman H.***

Armed conflict, wherever it may occur, impairs everywhere the immeasurable value of freely negotiated treaties and agreements as effective and reliable safeguards of national security and international peace. The resulting loss of confidence in such instruments leads nations to seek safety in competitive armaments, and to devote a disproportionate share of their resources thereto, thus impoverishing some nations and inexorably lowering the standards of life to all.

*Brussels, November 3.*

### ***Dodds, Harold W.***

The possibility that the civilized world will reach eventually a basis of peaceful change and thus expel forever the degrading social waste of war and revolution, rests upon man's ability to exalt the intellect, and repress or redirect irrational but deeply ingrained instincts of violence.

*Princeton, N. J., September 28.*

### ***Douglas, Lewis W.***

One of the sources of the present threat to the peace of Europe is the prevalence of economic nationalism, barriers to trade, encouraged as a matter of national policy. It would be straining the point to contend that barriers to trade alone are responsible for the explosive international political situation across the seas. Unrealistic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, the ravages of inflation induced by government wartime

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expenditures, and deep-seated national jealousies, all directly and indirectly contribute to make a highly inflammable political fabric.

*Washington, D. C., February 15.*

### ***Eden, Anthony***

We cannot cure the world by pacts and treaties. We cannot cure it by speeches, however lofty and peace-breathing they may be. There must be a will to co-operate which is unmistakable, and that will can manifest itself in certain very definite ways—by abandonment of the doctrine of national exclusiveness and accepting every European state as a potential partner in a general settlement, and by bringing armaments down to a level sufficient for the essential needs of defense and no more, and also by accepting such international machinery for settlements of disputes as will make the League of Nations of benefit to all and servitude to none.

*London, January 19.*

I say without hesitation that in order to get the full cooperation, on an equal basis, of the United States Government in an international conflict, I would travel not only from Geneva to Brussels, but from Melbourne to Alaska, particularly in the present state of international affairs.

*London, November 1.*

Britain believes there is only one way for the preservation of world peace. That way lies not in national ambitions and alliances of ideologies, but in respect to international law and the observance of treaties. By these means and by these means alone, can the world escape further the ordeal such as it passed through twenty years ago. If changes continue to be attempted



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by force on whatever pretext, then civilization can only proceed by ever-increasing suffering to its own destruction.

*Brussels, November 13.*

### **Elton, Lord**

The United States and the British Commonwealth between them, with the small, highly civilized Western European democracies, between whom and us war is unthinkable, contain together something approaching half the population of the world between which war is permanently excluded. There is a realm of stability and order on which to build. That half of the world possesses financial, industrial and maritime power sufficient, if it chooses to use it, to doom any major aggression anywhere to failure.

*New York, March 25.*

### **Fenwick, Charles S.**

War is coming because the Christian Catholic people are not united.

*New Haven, Conn., March 6.*

### **Goering, Hermann**

Division of Europe into two camps is ever more clear—a camp of reconstruction, order, enlightenment, and good faith, and a camp of decadence, destruction, and the sanguinary instinct of Bolshevism. A great test will demonstrate which of the two camps will prevail in Europe.

*Rome, January 18.*

### **Hitler, Adolf**

The people of Germany no longer harbor ill will from the war. There remain now only respect and sympathy

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for our former enemies, who went through the same dangers as the German soldiers. In a country where the government is almost entirely composed of former service men, we perhaps look on war with eyes different from those of people who do not know what war is. The front line fighters know that war was a great but also a horrible experience.

*Berchtesgaden, Germany, February 17.*

Only strong nations enjoy the benefits of peace.

*Nuremburg, Germany, September 13.*

### ***Hoffman, Malvina***

If you want nations to be friendly with each other, why not ask them to dance together? It's the shortest cut to peace. Everything else has been tried as a means to tighten the bonds of inter-racial friendship. Now we are going to try the dance, the art that is as old as love itself.

*New York, November 15.*

### ***Hull, Cordell***

There is a universally growing realization that economic well being for all nations is an indispensable foundation for durable peace. No peace machinery, however perfectly constructed, can operate among nations which are economically at war rather than at peace with each other. No nation is more ready to seek relief by the forcible acquisition of territory or is more easily stampeded into the hysteria of war, than one whose population finds itself hopelessly mired in economic poverty and widespread privation.

*Washington, D.C., January 21.*

The only alternative to catastrophic developments in Europe is the systematic reduction of trade barriers

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through such activity as the American reciprocal program. If and when other nations turn definitely in the direction of this peaceful course and away from armaments, threats of war and flouting of peace, then problems such as exchange stability and a truce in armament would be easier to solve.

*Washington, D. C., March 20.*

The principles and methods essential for peace are simple. I have tried on various occasions to summarize them to the best of my understanding: national and international patience and self-restraint; avoidance of force in the pursuit of policy; noninterference in the internal affairs of other nations; the use of peaceful methods to adjust differences; the faithful observance of agreements; the modification of such agreements, when essential, by mutual understanding and orderly process; the reduction and limitation of overburdening military armaments; and cooperation and interchange in the economic field.

*New York, September 19.*

The times are serious. The shadow of war darkens the world. It was never more important for the people to exhibit breadth of vision, restraint, judgment and political foresight, rather than passion, selfishness, emotion, and credulity. The world needs a return to belief in the pledged word, in a reign of law rather than unlicensed force, in the supreme value of human rights and liberties. Unbridled cupidity and savage aggression are sooner or later self-defeating.

*Boston, September 20.*

There is a grim paradox in the trends which are so clearly discernible today. As civilization moves to higher and higher levels, as the march of progress opens wider and wider horizons of material and cultural

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advancement, war becomes more relentlessly cruel, more thorough and effective in its unrestrained savagery. Modern civilization has survived and has gone ever forward because the violators of order, the breakers of the peace, have always been the exception rather than the rule. Whatever tragedies they have caused during their brief appearances on the stage of history, in the end they have always bowed to the will of that overwhelming majority of mankind which desires a continuing advance, rather than an inglorious decline, of man's civilized existence.

*Toronto, Canada, October 22.*

### ***Jordan, Virgil***

You cannot compromise with revolution; you can only cooperate with it or be liquidated.

*Washington, D.C., April 28.*

### ***Knudsen, William S.***

There is not a chance in the world of a general war unless they come here to borrow the money. World unrest is due to a lack of a proper system of distribution. It is not confined to Europe or the United States, but exists in other continents and countries.

*Interview, May 4.*

### ***La Guardia, Fiorello H.***

Piracy is piracy, whether committed under the banner of the skull and crossbones or under the flag of the organized government of an established nation.

*New York, November 11.*

### ***Lamont, Thomas W.***

The American people will not depart from its traditions in refusing to mix in the general quarrels of

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foreign nations. But with the world so closely knit as it is today, our practical objective should be to do what we prudently can to avert wars everywhere because of the certainty of the damage that such conflicts will cause us. We should not assume that we have a higher conception of morals than other peoples, or that Divine Providence has selected us to punish the wicked. We should calculate, not simply like moralists, but like practical men, as to what is the best way to avoid the disaster of war. Where concerted action holds out the best prospect for this, we should be willing to go along. Where concerted action would merely mean magnifying the general mess, we should refrain.

*Chicago, October 22.*

### ***Litvinoff, Maxim M.***

None of us forgets for a moment, and we all sincerely regret, the absence from the League (of Nations) of such a mighty power as the United States of America. We know the American people's profound love of peace and sincere aversion to war. We know the devotion to the League's lofty ideals of the present United States President and Secretary of State. We know what vast additional force the League would acquire by the entry of that State.

*Geneva, Switzerland, September 21.*

When it is a question of an aggressive attack by one state against another, and the attack has been in some measure successful, there is nothing easier for an international organization, in order to gain momentary success, than to say to the aggressor, "Take your plunder, take what you have seized by force, and peace be with you," and to say to the victim of the aggressor, "Love your aggressor. Resist not evil." But

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while that may prompt you to superficial success, it does not represent the victory of peace. That kind of success could only provoke new causes of aggression giving rise to new conferences, and so on to the end.

*Brussels, November 3.*

### ***Lothian, Marquess of***

If one could get an extension of the American Monroe Doctrine and a combination of the democracies under the Monroe System with the British Commonwealth sufficiently closely integrated so as to be invulnerable and able to stand outside the vortex of a European war, one would create a center of stability and peace in the world which might exorcise forever the spectre of another World War.

*London, March 2.*

### ***Madariaga, Salvador De***

While Europe is a powder magazine, and international tensions have never been higher than they are now, nevertheless powerful and responsible statesmen recognize the tremendous disaster that a war would be for Europe. That is my main reason for hoping that war can be averted, and it is substantiated by the following fact. Never in the history of diplomacy has there been such plain speaking and such plain dealing, never have statesmen indulged in such strong accusations of one another without precipitating war, or even the breaking of diplomatic relations.

*Interview, January 2.*

### ***Marconi, Guglielmo***

With all the friction, jealousy and antagonism rampant in the world, and the need for world understanding and

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communication so great, radio offers a wide channel for the mutual improvement of relationships.

*Radio address, March 11.*

### **McDonald, James G.**

There seems to be no way by which the will of the masses for peace can issue into policies of their governments which make for peace. That was true in 1914. I think it is true again.

*New York, November 15.*

### **Mussolini, Benito**

History shows that when a people does not want to bear its own arms it is forced to bear the arms of some one else.

*Catania, Sicily, August 11.*

### **Niemeyer, Otto**

The whole trouble is that nobody knows what the general political situation may be. My feeling is that it's improving. The trouble is that too many people are speaking and shocking the public with war fears. Nobody knows whether these fears are justified. Most certainly I don't believe there will really be war, and I don't really believe the people feel there will be. But nobody can be certain that there isn't going to be war.

*Interview, January 20.*

### **Norris, George W.**

The terrible condition we are now in, and the wasting depression in which all classes of our people are suffering, would affect us only in minor degree if we had kept out of that war (World War). It was a war where no victory was possible. The vanquished suffered no more than the victorious.

*Interview, April 3.*

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### ***Nye, Gerald P.***

We will make no progress against war so long as we accept, as generation after generation has accepted, the theory that war is inevitable.

*Chicago, March 11.*

### ***Pershing, John J.***

The last conflict brought no profit to any one, but left many questions still unsettled. But they cannot be settled by war. Yet the prospects for peace do not look promising. Hatred and suspicion still exist and armaments at enormous cost continue to grow. And if no cure is discovered for this temporary madness, we are in a hopeless state, for of one thing we may be certain, and that is, if another world war takes place, Western civilization as we know it cannot survive. Yet in the face of danger from the frequent stupidity or the more frequent unholy ambition of false leaders, we must ever hold ourselves ready to yield our all to defend the liberty we have inherited.

*Montfaucon, France, August 1.*

What has been the result of the almost unbelievable sacrifices of the Great War? The answer is that our liberty has been preserved, democracy survived as a fundamental structure of government, and civilization is unchanged.

*Versailles, France, October 6.*

### ***Pope, James P.***

The conflict between capitalism and socialism is not fraught with such danger of war as the conflict between those nations which have embraced the spirit of narrow nationalism and those which desire international co-



## WHAT THEY SAID IN 1937

operation and the maintenance of a world order in which disputes between nations will be settled by peaceful means.

*Charlottesville, Va., July 16.*

### ***Ribbentrop, Joachim von***

However the difficulty of general armament limitation may appear in this world, I do not believe in unlimited competitive armament. The armament of every country will find a natural boundary in the means at its disposal and the necessities of its geographical position, above all in the sense of security created within each people by the armaments achieved. When this point has been reached and all reason for further competitive armament disappears, a stage of calm and pacification that we all so greatly desire will arrive of its own accord.

*Leipzig, Germany, March 1.*

### ***Roche, Josephine***

It is even harder to achieve harmonious and cooperative action among human beings than to conquer and coordinate the forces of nature. Only through the submerging of individual desires into unselfish and practical cooperation can civilization grow.

*Wellesley, Mass., June 21.*

### ***Roosevelt, Franklin D.***

The peace loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality . . . There is a solidarity and interdependence

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about the modern world, both technically and morally, which makes it impossible for any nation completely to isolate itself from economic and political upheavals in the rest of the world . . . War is a contagion whether it be declared or not. It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease.

*Chicago, October 5.*

America hates war. America hopes for peace. Therefore, America actively engages in the search for peace.

*Chicago, October 5.*

The development of civilization and of human welfare is based on the acceptance by individuals of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other, and equally, the development of peace in the world is dependent similarly on the acceptance by nations of certain fundamental decencies in their relations with each other. Ultimately I hope each nation will accept the fact that violations of these rules of conduct are an injury to the well being of all nations.

*Radio address, October 12.*

### ***Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D.***

The great trouble among nations of the world today is that they do not trust each other or believe what they say to each other. That arises from the fact that individuals are in the same situation.

*Radio address, April 6.*

Peace abroad depends on peace at home and kindly feeling for one another. We haven't got it here. Few

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countries have it. But that must come before kindly feelings between nations. When we want peace we will have it. We haven't got very far in our international relations because we don't bring them down to the level of our personal reactions—that is, the way you feel about the neighbor next door. So far we have only given lip service to our thoughts on peace. Instead, it is a way you must live to prevent difficulties from arising.

*Briarcliff Manor, N. Y., August 10.*

When we make an agreement either as individuals or as groups, or even as nations, we have no real sense of security that the agreement will be kept. If we're going to have any firmer foundation in the course of the next few years, for mutual understanding, this attitude toward each other must change, and that will only come about through a change in the next generation.

*New York, October 4.*

### ***Sayre, Francis B.***

Economic nationalism, and its corollary imperialistic expansion alike lead to perpetual conflict. America must reach out toward liberal trade policies, not only because increased trade means increased profits, but because it is the only sure foundation upon which to build for world peace.

*Washington, D. C., January 22.*

Even were thoroughgoing isolation a practical possibility, it would not make us secure. When forces of evil are abroad, the supine abandonment of the world to them means to all practical intent siding with the evil against the good; ultimately, if unchecked, these forces of evil will become sufficiently strengthened to reach and batter down even storm-cellar doors. Thor-

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ough-going isolation will not save us from ultimate war . . . No modern industrial nation can survive economically without heavy importations from abroad of various indispensable commodities. If ready access to these is denied through the ordinary processes of trade, the drive toward armed conquest and imperialism becomes well nigh irresistible. Uneconomic trade barriers forge the thunderbolts of war.

*New York, October 5.*

### ***Selfridge, H. Gordon***

There will be no general war. An idiotic situation exists in Spain, and Japan has been doing uncalled for things in the Orient, but old England stands like a rock of common sense in the way of general war developments.

*Interview, October 9.*

### ***Seymour, Charles***

Europe has been passing through the most dangerous crisis since the World War, a crisis that has resulted from the stubborn refusal of this group or that to recognize the higher law of European security as superior to the immediate and illusory interests of this individual or that nation. There has been a blind disregard of the essential lesson of the past which teaches that the salvation of each depends ultimately upon the salvation of all; a truculent insistence upon so-called national rights regardless of international duties. This is political retrogression and unless corrected spells disaster.

*New Haven, Conn., October 3.*

### ***Shaw, George Bernard***

I dislike war not only for its dangers and inconveniences, but because of the loss of so many young men,

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one of whom may be a Newton or an Einstein, a Beethoven, Michaelangelo, a Shakespeare or even a Shaw.

*Radio address, November 2.*

### **Sibley, Harper**

Whether resources of raw materials can be internationalized seems to be one of the things that ought to be studied very seriously. It seems there should be some solution besides war.

*New York, January 13.*

### **Sockman, Ralph W.**

American mothers will refuse to be the tools of dictators in rearing sons for cannon fodder. When men refuse to fight, patrioteers may call them yellow. But women cannot be called cowards when they call a sit-down strike against the war system. When the people really get a passion for peace, the diplomats will find a way.

*Atlantic City, May 14.*

### **Stevens, Albert W.**

The United States leads today in aviation in most, though not all, details. But the only way we can hold the lead against the terrific race of war preparations in other countries is to put more and more money into government research. We can't afford to wait for commercial developments.

*Atlantic City, November 10.*

### **Tildsley, John L.**

Ultimately the most effective preventive of war is the growth in our schools of a host of non-conformists,

## WAR AND PEACE

that is, of individuals who at all times are self-owned, self-directed, always reflective, and therefore ever critical, invaluable but frequently troublesome.

*New York, February 27.*

### ***Tweedsmuir, Lord***

The American and British navies are united in the same purpose—the preservation of liberty and peace. Every addition to your (American) navy is an extra addition to the security of the world.

*Annapolis, April 1.*

### ***Van Zeeland, H. E. Paul***

The more civilization progresses, the more one realizes that in the long run, on both continents, the fundamental interests of the civilized world, both intellectual and moral, as well as political and economic, are one and alike—at some point they converge and meet. Either they work in harmony for the benefit of all concerned or else they enter into conflict, with all the consequences that such a strife inevitably entails.

*New York, June 28.*

### ***Ward, Harry F.***

The economy by which the world has maintained itself for two hundred years is unequal to the task of meeting the needs of mankind. The hungry nations feel the impact hardest, and refusing to accept the process of orderly change, are increasingly compelled to coercion of its peoples. The sharp choice pushed on the human race is either to find an economic process that can increasingly meet the needs of mankind or be driven down the road of war.

*New York, November 7.*

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### ***Welles, Sumner***

If experience has taught us anything, it has taught us that the way to avert war is not to wait until the storm is breaking, but to seek the pacific solution when the cloud of controversy no bigger than the palm of a man's hand first appears upon the horizon.

*New York, February 4.*

### ***Wheeler, Burton K.***

We would come out of war with more anarchy in the world than we have now.

*Milwaukee, October 15.*

### ***Woodward, Clark H.***

The peace of the world trembles in the balance, being at the whims and fancies of certain imperialistic gangsters mad with lust for power and bent on conquest. It is well, therefore, for the United States to look to her national defense.

*Brooklyn, N. Y., November 11.*

## Miscellany

### ***Byrd, Harry F.***

As one who has devoted months of study to government spending, assisted by competent experts, I declare advisedly that we have the most costly and wasteful bureaucracy at Washington in the history of the United States of America. We have created in four years over fifty new agencies and many more bureaus and sub-divisions. We have more than doubled in four years the Federal employees in the city of Washington, and the last report shows we are still adding new employees.

*New York, November 10.*

### ***Greene, Frederick S.***

The engineer is smarter than the average lawyer, but he does not know it. You (engineers) have more brains and more of everything else than lawyers have. The engineer looks at all sides of the question, whereas the lawyer magnifies everything that will favor his case, and minimizes everything that will hurt him.

*New York, May 22.*

### ***Leslie, Shane***

Here (Ireland) we are always saying Americans are given up to materialism and the almighty dollar, but



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if you wander about the United States, the one thing that strikes you most is the great idealistic side of America when compared with our own countries. Americans will give more to preserve matters of idealism than will the people of any other country. A great part of Europe today is given up to the eugenic theory about true breeding and pure racial strains. I must point out that in America, where some twenty different European strains have intermingled, the results are brilliant.

*Dublin, January 15.*

### ***Sheppard, Morris***

The evils of beverage alcohol have assumed such obviously destructive forms that an aroused public sentiment, when the case is properly presented, may well be expected to support reenactment of nationwide prohibition. It is coming chiefly because America cannot tolerate the terrible highway slaughter caused by drunken drivers.

*Washington, D. C., January 16.*

### ***Van de Water, Frederic F.***

The dead pan is, relished by the New Englander. Laughter comes afterward, not while the joke is going on.

*New York, November 15.*

### ***Wagner, Robert F.***

Tammany Hall may justly claim the title of the cradle of modern liberalism in America.

*New York, July 5.*

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## Index to Speakers

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